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BIBLICAL NOTES

AND

Dissertations,

CHIEFLY INTENDED

TO CONFIRM AND ILLUSTRATE THE DOCTRINE

OF THE

DEITY OF CHRIST;

WITH SOME REMARKS

ON THE PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF THAT DOCTRINE.

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BY

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

B 490·4

Οἶδα αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἀληθῶς, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἀπαθῆ· οἶδα αὐτὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, ἄνθρωπον, ἀπὸ γῆς, παθητόν. Οὐ ζητῶ πῶς παθητὸς καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὁ αὐτὸς, πῶς Θεὸς καὶ πῶς ἄνθρωπος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ΠΩΣ περιεργαζόμενος, καὶ ΤΟΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ἀναζητῶν, ἐκπέσω τοῦ προκειμένου ἡμῖν ΑΓΑΘΟΥ: *Athanasii Orat. Unum esse Christum.*

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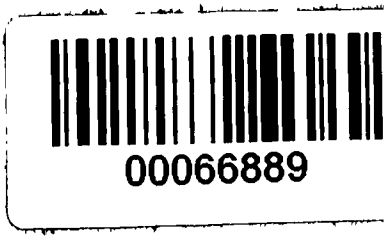

PREFACE.

FULLY convinced as I am, that the welfare of mankind can be promoted by nothing so effectually, as by the maintenance and diffusion of the Christian religion, and also, that our religion, when deprived of its fundamental doctrines, loses its efficacy, as an instrument for insuring our virtue and happiness, I consider myself bound to support, by every means in my power, that most holy faith "which was once delivered to the saints"—I mean pure and orthodox Christianity.

This is the sole object which I have in view, in presenting to the public the following notes and dissertations, which, although as I fear very imperfect, are the result of long continued reflexion and labour. The range which I have, in the present volume, attempted to occupy, is however by no means extensive. The dissertations are chiefly critical and philological, and, with the exception of the first, (on the canonical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews,) they relate almost exclusively to the deity and incarnation of Jesus Christ. After all, they embrace the discussion of but a small part of the passages of Scripture, which might be pleaded in support of those doctrines.

While I have been engaged in the composition of this volume, and in the previous study necessary for the purpose, one general remark has been frequently suggested to me, and has excited a feeling of gratitude to our Heavenly Father, who has graciously adapted the revelation of his truth *to men of every condition.* It is, that, *as far as regards essential truth,* the obvious sense of Scripture—the sense which is naturally imbibed by the cottager or the school-boy—seldom fails to be wrought out and established by impartial and elaborate research. It stands the test of careful investigation.

My own attainments in biblical criticism are by no means great. Yet I know enough of that pursuit, to be thoroughly convinced, that, when conducted on just principles, it will never support those novel explanations of Holy Writ, which have been seized upon, with eagerness, by modern writers of a speculative turn. If I am not greatly mistaken, it condemns all the floating fancies of the sceptic, and ranges itself on the side of that sound and simple interpretation of Scripture which has been familiar, in all ages of the church, to the humble followers of a crucified Redeemer.

The following is a translation of the motto on [redacted] title page. "I know that he is truly God, from [redacted]n, impassible. I know that he was of the [redacted] David, according to the flesh, a man, and [redacted] I do not enquire *how* the same person is [redacted] and impassible—*how* he is both God

and man; lest, whilst I busy myself about the How, and am investigating the MODE, I should miss of THAT GOOD THING which is set before us." This sentence, selected from the works of Athanasius, is worthy of the deliberate attention of every theological student. If we approach Christianity, with the remembrance that it is appointed for our salvation, and peruse the Scriptures with a humble mind, for the purpose of our own edification, we shall not be permitted to doubt the truth of the great doctrines of our religion. Although the *mode* of these doctrines is placed far beyond the reach of our investigation, we shall rely with simplicity on the *facts* which are revealed to us, and, in applying them, by faith, to our spiritual benefit, we shall learn to adopt the apostle's emphatic language, "To me, to live is CHRIST, and to die is GAIN."

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No. 1.—On the canonical authority of the epistle to the hebrews 1

No. 2.—On the preexistence of jesus christ before john the baptist 40

No. 3.—On christ, the redeemer—the living one—in the time of job 46

No. 4.—On the existence of christ before abraham 52

No. 5.—On the existence of christ when the world was created.. 64

No. 6.—On the eternal preexistence of christ 73

No. 7.—On christ preexistent in the form of god, and on an equality with him 89

No. 8.—On the chaldee targums, and on the doctrine of their authors respecting the word of jehovah 123

No. 9.—On the creation of all things by the word or son of god 146

No. 10.—God made the worlds by his son 164

No. 11.—On the testimony of the apostle paul, that the psalmist addresses the son of god, as the creator of the universe 170

No. 12.—The son the image of the invisible god, the first-born of the whole creation, and the creator of all things in heaven and in earth 184

No. 13.—On the preaching of christ to the antediluvians .....

No. 14.—On the angel who bore the name and displayed the attributes of god 220

No. 15.—On the deity of the word 264

No. 16.—On the prophecies of Isaiah in chap. vii, viii, & ix; 1-6 297

No. 17.—Christ the branch is Jevovah our righteousness' 350

No. 18.—On the various readings of 1 tim. iii, 16 365

No. 19.—Additional observations on 1 tim. iii, 16 393

No. 20.—Jesus christ "our great god and saviour" 398

No. 21.—Christ who, in his human nature, descended from the Jews, is "over all, god blessed for ever" 423

Conclusion.—On the practical importance of faith in the deity of christ 457

BIBLICAL NOTES,

&c.

No. 1.

On the Canonical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

EVERY student in theology must be aware that there are, in the epistle to the Hebrews, many important passages, which directly or indirectly relate to the divinity of our Saviour. In the first chapter, more especially, the writer's whole argument is built on the doctrine—allowed, no doubt, by those whom he was addressing—that the Son of God is infinitely superior to the angels: and that it is He who in certain passages of the Old Testament, is described under the name and character of GOD, the Creator and Ruler of all things. On this account, as well as for other reasons, it is a question of great interest to the enquirer after christian truth, whether the Epistle to the Hebrews may, like the rest of the books included in the canon of scripture, be received as a work given by inspiration of God—whether the canonical authority, now generally ascribed to this treatise, rests on such grounds as will satisfy the mind of an honest and deliberate enquirer?

The doubts entertained by some persons, on this subject, have obviously arisen from the circumstance, that the epistle is anonymous; and appear to have been uniformly connected with the question, *whether the apostle Paul was its author?* Now, if there are sufficient reasons to convince us that Paul was the author of this epistle, we must of course rest satisfied of its canonical authority. I shall therefore, in the first place, briefly state the evidences by which this hypothesis is supported.

I. The first evidence to be adduced on this subject, although of a nature somewhat indirect and uncertain, is worthy of our close attention on the ground of its antiquity and authority. It is the testimony of the apostle Peter, who, in his second epistle, writes as follows: "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless; and account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto *you*; as also in all his epistles speaking in them of *these things*; in which are some things hard to be understood (δυσνόητά τινα), which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction."[a]

The first point to which we must here advert is this—that the apostle, in the passage now cited, distinguishes, from the rest of Paul's epistles, some one epistle written by him to that very people, whom Peter is himself addressing. Who then were this people? I answer, THE JEWS. The persons to whom the first epistle of Peter is inscribed were οἱ ἐκλέκτοι παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς, "the elect

[a] 2 Pet. iii, 14—16.

strangers of the dispersion, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,"[a] and that his second epistle was also written to them, appears from 2 Pet. iii, 1. "This second epistle, beloved, I now write *unto you*; in *(both) which* I stir up your pure minds, &c." Now I conceive that these elect strangers of the dispersion must have been the same people as were addressed by the apostle James, under the appellation of *αἱ δώδεκα φύλαι ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ*, "the TWELVE TRIBES in the dispersion."[1]

The *παρεπιδήμοι διασπορᾶς*, in the phraseology of a Jew writing soon after the christian era, could be no others than his *countrymen* in the dispersion, and the *ἐκλέκτοι παρεπιδήμοι διασπορᾶς*, were doubtless, that portion of this scattered people, which had embraced christianity.[2] This conclusion is satisfactorily confirmed, —first, by the consideration that Peter was the apostle of the Jews,—secondly, by the contents of the two epistles, which abound in familiar illustrations derived from the history, law, and prophecies of God's

[a] 1 Pet. i, 1.

[1] The peculiar sense of the word *διασπορὰ* appears to be well ascertained, and is thus ably stated by Schleusner: "Κατ' ἐξοχὴν in N. T. ita dicuntur loca in quibus Israelitæ exulabant; regio quam *διασπαρέντες Ἰουδαῖοι s.* dispersi Judæi inhabitabant. Fuerunt enim, Christi et apostolorum ætate, Judæi per totum fere terrarum orbem dispersi, et in omnibus celebrioribus Asiæ urbibus suas synagogas et proseuchas habebant, teste Josepho, *De B. J.* viii, 3, 3. Et hoc sensu vox capienda, Jac. i, 1. Ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, omnibus Christianis ex Judæis conversis extra Palæstinam habitantibus. 1 Pet. i, 1. Παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς." Schleusner then proceeds to observe, that in John vii, 35. *διασπορὰ*, by metonymy, denotes the Jews themselves who were thus dispersed—"μὴ εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μέλλει πορεύεσθαι, ubi *διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων* sunt ipsi Judæi inter Græcos per totum terrarum orbem dispersi. *Comp.* 2 Mac. i, 27; ἐπισυνάγαγε τὴν διασπορὰν ἡμῶν,—also Ps. cxlvii, 2. See also Rosenmüller and Gill in loc.

[2] *Comp.* Rom. xi. 7. "Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the *election* hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded."

ancient people,[3]—thirdly, by the fact that, in his first epistle, the persons addressed by the apostle are mentioned as living *amongst* the Gentiles, but not as forming a part of them,[4]—and lastly, by the testimony of Eusebius, who, without hesitation, pronounces this epistle to have been inscribed "*to the Hebrews.*"[d]

From our premises it follows, that the epistle here referred to by the apostle Peter, as the work of Paul, was addressed, like those of Peter himself, to *Jews;* and to *Jews only.* Now, since none of the thirteen epistles universally acknowledged to be Paul's were so addressed,—since we have no ground for supposing that any such work of Paul's once existed, and is now lost,—and since, on the other hand, this description precisely applies to the epistle to the Hebrews,—there is a good *prima facie* reason for believing that this was in fact the epistle to which Peter alluded. It is

[d] *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii, cap. 4.

[3] Among the many examples of this nature, afforded by these epistles, 1 Pet. i, 18, deserves particular notice. "Forasmuch as ye know ye were not redéemed by silver and gold, &c." Here there is an oblique reference (which could scarcely be intelligible to any but Jews) to the money which the Israelites were required to pay as a ransom for their souls, and in order to redeem their first-born sons. See Exod. xxx, 12—15; Num. iii, 40—51. Striking in the same point of view is the allusion, in 2 Pet. ii, 22, to the true proverb,—"The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." The first part of this proverb is Solomon's—the latter is evidently of Jewish use and extraction, for the swine probably derives its name in Hebrew from its practice of returning to the mire—חזיר from חזר *rediit.* It is remarkable also that extracts are, in these epistles, given from the O. T., as of allowed authority, and perfectly familiar to the reader, without any accompanying word to denote their being quoted. See 1 Pet. i, 24; ii, 7, 8, 24, 25; iii, 10—12; 2 Pet. iii, 8, &c.

[4] See 1 Pet. ii, 12. "Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, &c." iv, 3. "For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, &c. . . . . wherein *they* think it strange that ye run not *with them* to the same excess of riot," &c.

true that the epistle to the Hebrews (as I shall afterwards endeavour to shew) was probably addressed to the Jewish christians of Palestine, whereas those of Peter were written to the Jews of "the dispersion;" yet, since this treatise was, in its general design, *encyclical*—applicable to the condition and adapted for the instruction of the believing Jews *wherever situated*,—it was by no means unnatural that Peter, in the practical application of his beloved brother's doctrine, should overlook this particular distinction. Converted Jews, *as such*, were, in these instances, the common and exclusive objects of the addresses of *both* apostles.

The question however remains, whether any passage in "the Hebrews" corresponds with the subject on which Peter was writing, in such a manner as to justify his reference? This question may be safely answered in the affirmative. I conceive that Peter's allusion to the doctrine of Paul is not connected with the immediately preceding words *alone*, but with the whole exhortation of which they form a part.—"*Seeing that ye look for such things*, be diligent, that ye may be found of Him, in peace, without spot and blameless, and account that the long suffering of our Lord is salvation." The things here described as *looked for* are, the second coming of the Lord, and the destruction or purification of the visible world by fire: and in the prospect of these things, the apostle exhorts his readers to a life of diligence, peace, holiness, and patience. Now, this subject does not appear to be unfolded in any part of Paul's epistles with so much clearness and fulness, as in the following passages of "the Hebrews." "As it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that *look for him*

shall he appear the second time without sin (or a sin-offering) unto salvation."[a] "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus .... let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience .... let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering; &c .... for if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful *looking for* of judgment and *fiery indignation*, which shall devour the adversaries. .... Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward. For *ye have need of patience*, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise. *For yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry.*"[b] "Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run *with patience* the race that is set before us .... follow *peace* with all men, and *holiness*, without which no man shall see the Lord .... *looking diligently* lest any man fail of the grace of God."[c] "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh .... whose voice then shook the earth: but now he hath promised, saying, *Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven.* And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the *removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.* Wherefore we, receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear: for our God is a *consuming fire.*"[d]

[a] ix, 27, 28 [b] x, 19-36. [c] xii, 1, 14, 15. [d] 25-29.

The analogy between these passages and the whole of the third chapter of the second epistle of Peter is of a close and striking character. As a further confirmation of the opinion that Peter has there referred to the epistle to the Hebrews, it has been observed;—*first*, that, although the whole of Paul's writings contain abundant internal evidences of their divine origin, yet the description of being written "according to the *wisdom* given unto him," applies with peculiar force to the epistle to the Hebrews—a treatise in which the inspired author has displayed an extraordinary depth of divine knowledge, and a preeminent *skill* in unfolding the deeper and more abstruse parts of the christian system;—and, *secondly*, that the "things hard to be understood" (δυσνόητά τινα), of which Peter speaks as contained in the epistles of Paul, are most conspicuous in that to the Hebrews, the writer of which expressly denominates certain parts of his own doctrine "things hard to be interpreted,"[a] (λόγος δυσερμήνευτος).[4]

[a] v, 11. *Owen on the Hebrews*, Exercit. 2.

[4] The doubts mentioned by Eusebius, as entertained by some persons, respecting the genuineness of the second epistle of Peter, (*Eccl. Hist.* lib. iii, 25; vi, 25.) had probably disappeared in the christian church, before the council of Laodicea, (A. D. 363,) by which this epistle was recorded as part of the canon of scripture. The simple ground on which Lardner states himself to be convinced of its genuineness is this—that it plainly professes, in its opening salutation, and more indirectly in some other passages, to be the work of this apostle, and must therefore be either the genuine production of his pen, or a gross forgery. Now the moral and doctrinal contents of this epistle (especially of the first and third chapters) are of so weighty and elevated a character, as totally to preclude the probability of the latter alternative. And this, I doubt not, is the main reason why this epistle, as well as the general epistle of James, (which also was reckoned by Eusebius among the controverted books) have been, for so many ages, universally received by Christians as of canonical authority.

This general argument, however, is satisfactorily confirmed by the

II. The next evidence to be adduced, in support of the opinion that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul, is that of ecclesiastical tradition. The Greek and eastern fathers are unanimous in ascribing the epistle to Paul. The earliest authority amongst

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comparison of various expressions contained in *both* the epistles ascribed to Peter. The following examples may suffice to elucidate the subject.

Comp. 1 Pet. i, 2. Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη, *with* 2 Pet. i, 2. *The same words.*

Comp. 1 Pet. i, 18. ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς, *with* 2 Pet. iii, 11. ἐν ἁγίαις ἀναστροφαῖς.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii, 21. σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, *with* 2 Pet .i, 14. ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματός.

Comp. 1 Pet. iv, 3. ἐν ἀσελγείαις, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 18. *The same words; ἀσέλγεια* is generally used in the *singular.*

Comp. 1 Pet. i, 17. χρόνον ἀναστράφητε, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 18. τοὺς ἐν πλάνῃ ἀναστραφομένους.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii, 20. ἐξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγαι (τουτέστιν ὀκτὼ) ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 5. καὶ ἀρχαίου κόσμου οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξε, *and* iii, 15. καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μακροθυμίαν, σωτηρίαν ἡγεῖσθε.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii, 17. Κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιοῦντας, ... πάσχειν, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 21. Κρεῖττον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι, κ. τ. λ.

Comp. 1 Pet. v, 4. κομιεῖσθε . . . . τῆς δόξης στέφανον, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 13. κομιούμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας.

Comp. 1 Pet. ii, 11. τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 18. δελεάζουσιν ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις.

Comp. 1 Pet. i, 20. ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων, *with* 2 Pet. iii, 3, ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν.

Comp. 1 Pet. iv, 3. πεπορευμένους (in the sense of *vitam agentes*) ἐν ἀσελγείαις, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 10. ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μιασμοῦ πορευομένους.

Comp. 1 Pet. v, 10. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς . . . . . ὑμᾶς στηρίξει, *with* 2 Pet. i, 12. ὑμᾶς . . . . . ἐστηριγμένους ἐν . . . . . ἀληθείᾳ.

Comp. 1 Pet. iv, 12. ὡς ξένου ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντος (in the sense of *happening*) *with* 2 Pet. ii, 22. συμβέβηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς.

them, applying to the subject, is that of Pantænus, the president of the christian school at Alexandria, who flourished, A. D. 180. From a passage in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, we find that this ancient presbyter spoke of the epistle to the Hebrews, as the work of Paul, and accounted for the apostle's not attaching his name to it, on the ground of modesty, and because his peculiar office was that of ministering to the *Gentiles*.[a]

Pantænus was succeeded in the school of Alexandria by Clement, (A. D. 192,) whose testimony to the Pauline origin of this epistle is also preserved by Eusebius, and is quite explicit.[b] Origen, (A. D. 230,) the successor of Clement in his office, received the epistle as written by Paul, and expressly declares that it was handed down as such *by the ancients*.[c] Now the ancients (*οἱ ἀρχαιοι ἄνδρες*) to whom this father refers, were probably christians who lived in apostolic times, or very soon afterwards; whence we may conclude that even in the primitive age of the church, the epistle to the Hebrews was received as the work of Paul. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the earliest versions which were made

[a] *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi, cap. 14. [b] *Ib.* lib. iii, cap. 38. [c] *Ib.* lib. vi, cap. 25.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii, 20. *ὀκτὼ ψυχαὶ* (in the sense of *persons*) *with* 2 Pet. ii, 14. *δελεάζοντες ψυχὰς ἀστηρίκτους.*

Comp. 1 Pet. i, 14. *τέκνα ὑπακοῆς*, obedient children, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 14. *κατάρας τέκνα*, cursed children.

Comp. 1 Pet. i, 4. *τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, *with* 2 Pet. ii, 17. *εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.* Although the expressions here cited are not in general *peculiar* to the apostle Peter, they are sufficiently marked and numerous to evince a strong similarity of style between the two epistles; and independently of other arguments, render it probable that the same person was the author of them both.

of the *canonical* scriptures of the New Testament—viz. the Syriac Peshito, the Sahidic, and the Vetus Itala, contain this epistle. Here it should be observed that the testimony of Clement of Alexandria and Origen on this subject is by no means confined to the declarations now alluded to; for there are to be found in their extant works numerous passages of the epistle to the Hebrews, which they currently adduce as *scripture*, and as the words of Paul.

After Origen we have Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 247; Theognostus, of the same place, A. D. 282; Methodius, A. D. 292 (probably); Pamphilus, of Cæsarea, A. D. 294; Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, A. D. 300; Hierax, a learned Egyptian, A. D. 302; Alexander, A. D. 313; Eusebius, of Cæsarea, A. D. 315; Athanasius, A. D. 326; Adamantius, A. D. 330; Cyril, of Jerusalem, A. D. 348; Serapion, an Egyptian bishop, A. D. 347; Titus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, A. D. 362; Epiphanius, A. D. 368; Basil, A. D. 370; Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 370; Amphilochius, A. D. 370; Gregory Nyssen, A. D. 371; Diodorus, of Tarsus, A. D. 378; Didymus, of Alexandria, A. D. 378; the author of the Constitutiones Apostolicæ, A. D. 390; Theodore, of Mopsuesta, A. D. 394; Chrysostom, A. D. 398; Maximin, the Arian bishop, A. D. *circa* 400; Severian, A. D. 401; Victor, A. D. 401; Cyril, of Alexandria, A. D. 412; Theodoret, A. D. 423; and many others. By these numerous fathers, the epistle is attributed to Paul. Many of them, like Clement and Origen, without hinting at the existence of any doubts on the subject, have quoted the words of this epistle as *his* words; others, in lists of the canonical books of scripture, have included it amongst *his* epistles. The testimony of the Greek fathers, thus general and ex-

plicit, is confirmed by that of Ephrem the Syrian, A. D. 370; also by that of the general council of christians held at Laodicea, A. D. 363.[a]

It may be proper to advert somewhat more particularly to the evidence of Eusebius. In that celebrated passage of his ecclesiastical history, in which he divides the books of the New Testament, into "those universally allowed to be genuine (ὁμολογούμενα)" and "those of which the authority was disputed (ἀντιλεγόμενα)," the epistle to the Hebrews is not distinguished by him from the other epistles of Paul, and is therefore included *with them*, in the class of ὁμολογούμενα.[b] In strict accordance with this classification, Eusebius has, in other passages of his works, quoted this epistle as *divine scripture* and as written by Paul.[c] On one occasion however, at the same time that he expresses his own judgment that Paul was the author of the epistle, he informs us that the contrary opinion existed: "there are," he says, "fourteen epistles of Paul manifest and well known (πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς), but yet there are some, who reject that to the Hebrews, alleging in behalf of their opinion, that it was not received in the church of Rome as a writing of Paul's."[d] And in another place he says, "to this very time by some of the Romans, this epistle is not reckoned to be the apostle's."[e] Accordingly it appears that some of the earliest Latin fathers did not receive the epistle as Paul's. Caius, A.D. 212, supposed to have been a Presbyter at Rome, mentions the epistles of Paul as being only thirteen in number;[f] and Tertullian, who wrote at the same period, ascribed this epistle to Barnabas. We

[a] *Lardner's Works*, 4to. iii, 329, 330. [b] *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii, cap. 25. [c] *Ib.* lib. ii, cap. 17. *De Martyr. Palest.* cap. 11. [d] *Ib.* lib. iii, cap. 3. [e] *Ib.* lib. vi, cap. 20. [f] *Ib.* lib. vi, cap. 20.

are also informed by Stephen Gobar, as cited by Photius, that Irenæus bishop of Lyons, and his disciple Hippolytus, did not receive this treatise as a work of Paul's.[a] Eusebius however states that Irenæus, in one of his works (now lost), appeals to certain declarations (ῥητά τινα) in the epistle to the Hebrews.[b]

With regard to the disposition to reject the epistle, which existed in the church at Rome during the fourth century, it might possibly arise (as is stated by Philaster of Brescia A. D. 380) from opposition to the Novatians—sectarians, who grounded on Hebrews vi, 4—6, their determination not to readmit into the church, on repentance, those who had once fallen from the faith of Christ.[c] Jerom, (A. D. 392,) although he mentions the doubts which existed on the subject, himself received the epistle as the work of Paul;[d] and the later Latin fathers, including Hilary, (A. D. 354,) Ambrose, (A. D. 374,) and Augustine, (A. D. 400,) are as unanimous as the Greeks, in favor of the same opinion. On the whole therefore it appears, that the records of antiquity decidedly support that opinion. With the exception of a few of the western fathers, and some persons at Rome in the fourth century, whose objection has been accounted for by an incidental circumstance, *it appears to have been the prevailing and nearly universal judgment of the early christian church, that Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

III. We have now to consider the internal evidences, by which this judgment is confirmed: and (1) in the first place we may observe, that the little which can be collected from the epistle to the Hebrews, respecting

[a] *Bibl.* p. 904. [b] *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v, cap. 26. [c] *Lardner's Works*, vol. ii, p. 523. [d] *Ib.* vol. ii, p. 558.

the *personal circumstances* of its author is coincident with the history of Paul. The intimate knowledge which the author displays of the Old Testament and of the whole Jewish institution, affords a strong presumption that he was a Jew, and a Jew of great learning: this was eminently the case with Paul, who was as "touching the law a Pharisee," and who was brought up in all the learning of the Hebrews, at the feet of Gamaliel.

In the latter part of his epistle, the writer exhorts the Hebrews to pray for him, and the rather to do this "*that he might be restored to them the sooner*," adding almost immediately afterwards,[a] "*they of Italy salute you.*"[5] It appears therefore that this writer had been with the Hebrew christians in Judæa (to whom it is nearly certain that his epistle was addressed)—that he desired to be restored to them—and that he was then absent from them, *in Italy:* now we know that Paul frequently visited the christians in Judæa; and that he was at last separated from them and carried a prisoner to *Rome.* The evidence which this coincidence affords is strengthened by Heb. xiii, 23, "*know ye that our brother* (τὸν ἀδελφὸν) *Timothy is set at liberty;*" for Paul frequently calls Timothy *our brother* (ὁ ἀδελφὸς)[b] and from the commencement of his epistles to the Colossians and the Philippians, we

[a] xiii, 19, 24. [b] 2 Cor. i, 1; Col. i, 1; 1 Thes. iii, 2.

5 Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. "They of Italy." I believe that ἀπὸ is here rightly rendered "of." The idiom is not considered to denote that the persons spoken of came from Italy, and *were then elsewhere*, but only that Italy was their country or home. Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας may therefore be understood as signifying the Italian Christians, including, of course, those of Rome. The same idiom is employed in Matt. xxi, 11; Acts xvii, 13; &c. So in Philo, οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας, signifies, the Alexandrians. Vid. *Rosenmüller in loc., Schleusner in voc. ἀπὸ, No.* 19., *Gill, &c.*

learn that *when Paul was in Italy, Timothy was there also.* It ought moreover to be observed that the date of the epistle to the Hebrews, (as indicated by internal evidence hereafter to be adduced,) was probably shortly subsequent to that of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, which took place about the year of our Lord 63.

2. It has often and justly been observed, that a *mind* extremely similar to the mind of Paul displays itself throughout the epistle to the Hebrews. That boldness, fervour, and decision; that zeal for Christ; that rapid accumulation of ideas; those perspicuous and authoritative statements of christian truth; those comprehensive views of the character and offices of the Son of God, and more especially of the doctrine of *atonement;* that prevailing sense of the efficacy of faith; that clear insight into the introductory nature of the Jewish law, and of the superior and permanent claims of the gospel; by which the apostle Paul was so eminently distinguished—distinguished the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews.

3. The manner in which the subjects of this epistle are arranged indicates that Paul was its author. Many of the acknowledged epistles of that apostle admit of a clear division into two parts; the first relating to doctrine, the second to practice. In the former part of the epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, the Ephesians, and the Colossians, we find statements of christian doctrine, which, in the latter part of them, are closely followed up by a series of practical exhortations. A similar arrangement is not to be observed in the epistles of James, Peter, or John, but is very conspicuous in that to the Hebrews, of which the first eleven chapters (except the sixth, which is pa-

renthetic) are chiefly occupied by a statement of doctrine, clear, comprehensive, and argumentative, like the statements of Paul, and the last two chapters consist almost entirely of exhortations. It may also be observed that these exhortations relate to several of those subjects on which, in the preceptive parts of his epistles, Paul was most accustomed to dwell—namely, diligence, courage, and perseverance in the Christian course ;[a] peace and love ;[b] hospitality ;[c] chastity ;[d] contentment, as opposed to the love of money ;[e] stability in doctrine ;[f] and prayer on his own behalf.[g]

4. There are a variety of highly characteristic particulars, in which this epistle admits of a close comparison with the acknowledged writings of the apostle Paul. In Heb. i, 2, we read that God appointed his Son *heir of all things,* (κληρονόμον πάντων) ; an assertion which agrees with the declaration of Paul, that christians are "heirs of God and *joint heirs of Christ* (συγκληρονόμοι Χριστοῦ).[h] In Heb. i, 3, Christ is denominated "*the express image*" (χαρακτὴρ) of the person (or substance) of God ; so Paul declares that he is "*the image* (εἰκὼν) *of the invisible God,*" and that "*in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.*"[i] In the same verse of our epistle, we read that the Son of God *upholdeth all things with the word of his power ;* compare the doctrine of Paul, that "by him (the Son of God) *all things consist*" (συνέστηκε.)[k] In Heb. i, 3, 4, it is said that the Son of God, "when he had

[a] Ch. xii, 3, 12, 13.—*comp.* Gal. vi, 9 ; Eph. iii, 13. [b] Ch. xii, 14, 15.—*comp.* 1 Cor. xiii, 1—13 ; 2 Cor. xiii, 11. [c] Ch. xiii, 2. —*comp.* Rom. xii, 13. [d] Ch. xiii, 4.—*comp.* Eph. v, 3—5. [e] Ch. xiii, 5.—*comp.* Eph. v, 3; Col. iii, 5; 1 Tim. vi, 6—10. [f] Ch. xiii, 9.—*comp.* Eph. iv, 14. [g] Ch. xiii, 18.—*comp.* Eph. vi, 19; 1 Thes. v, 25, &c. [h] Rom. viii, 17. [i] Col. i, 15; ii, 9. [k] Col. i, 17.

himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." This is precisely the doctrine of Paul, who declares that God raised Jesus "from the dead and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above *every name* that is named not only in this world, *but also in that which is to come.*"[a] In Heb. i, 5, we find applied to Jesus the words of the second Psalm, "*Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;*" and of all the apostles or evangelists, Paul alone has so applied that remarkable prophecy.[b] In Heb. i, 6, Christ, under the title of πρωτότοκος first-born, or first-begotten, is described as the object of the worship of angels. So Paul, when treating of the divine nature and supereminence of Christ, calls him πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως —"the *First-born* or *First-begotten* of the whole creation."[c] The application to Jesus Christ of the description of *man*, contained in the eighth Psalm,—an application which we find in Heb. ii, 7, 9,—is striking and *extraordinary;* but that Paul so applied the same description, we learn from 1 Cor. xv, 27. Paul compares the *word of God* to a sword.[d] So the author of our epistle describes this *word*, as "sharper than a two-edged sword."[e] In Heb. iv, 13, 14, the first principles of religion are figuratively represented as *milk*, and the more recondite doctrines of christianity, as *strong meat:* the same remarkable figures are adopted by Paul, in 1 Cor. iii, 2. In Heb. vii, 18, 19, the gospel is described as that which

[a] Eph. i, 20, 21. So also Phil. ii, 9. [b] Acts xiii, 33.
[c] Col. i, 16. [d] Eph. vi, 17. [e] Heb. iv, 12.

succeeded, and thereby abrogated the Jewish law (ἐπεισαγωγή)—a doctrine which accords with the declaration of Paul, that the law was "*our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ*" and that "*after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.*"[a] So again, in Heb. viii, 5, x, 1, the sacrificial ceremonies of the Jewish law are declared to be "*a shadow of good things to come*"—a declaration, precisely similar to that which Paul has made respecting some other branches of the same institution; "let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days; which are a *shadow of things to come;* but the body is of Christ."[b] Paul was frequently led to illustrate the conflicts and hopes of a christian's life, by language borrowed from the public games and exercises, so common among the ancients; and similar illustrations are made with great force and elegance, in the epistle to the Hebrews.[c] Again, the apostle says of himself and his brethren, "we are made a *spectacle* (θέατρον) unto the world and to angels and to men;"[d] and we find the same idea in Heb. x, 33, in which passage the persecuted christians are described as being made a *gazing stock or spectacle* (θεατριζόμενοι). From Heb. vii, 25, we learn that Christ, who is made higher than the heavens, "*ever liveth to make intercession for us*"—a doctrine which Paul alone has declared with the same clearness: "it is Christ that died; yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, *who also maketh intercession for us.*"[e] In like manner in the epistle to the He-

[a] Gal. iii, 24, 25. [b] Col. ii, 16, 17. [c] *Comp.* Acts, xx, 24; 1 Cor. ix, 24; Phil. iii, 12—14; 2 Tim. ii, 5; iv, 6—8, with Heb. vi, 18, xii, 1—4, 12. [d] 1 Cor. iv, 9. [e] Rom. viii, 34.

brews, our Lord is repeatedly described as *the Mediator* (μεσίτης);—a title which is elsewhere applied to him *only* by the apostle Paul.[a] There is scarcely any thing in this epistle more peculiar, or which has excited more critical discussion, than the manner in which the author illustrates the covenant of God in Christ, by the circumstances of a man's *testament*,—the word διαθήκη being used to denote both a *covenant and a will*:[b] it is remarkable that the same illustration appears to be adopted by Paul.[c] Between the account given of the faith of Abraham and its consequences, in Rom. iv, 17—20, and that which we find in Hebrews xi, 8—12, there is an oblique yet striking correspondence. The participle νενεκρώμενος, applied to Abraham in both these passages, occurs nowhere else either in the Septuagint, or Greek Testament. "*The God of peace*" is an expression frequent in the acknowledged writings of Paul, nor is it elsewhere used except in the epistle to the Hebrews.[d] Finally, the whole conclusion of the epistle,—the message of mutual salutation,[e]—the farewell "grace be with you all,"[f]—and the comprehensive and apostolic blessing by which it is preceded, are all after the manner of Paul.[g]

While these points of correspondence afford a strong evidence in favor of the opinion that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, it ought not to be concealed that doubts on this subject have often been suggested to enquiring minds, by a certain perceptible difference of *style* between this epistle and the acknow-

[a] *Comp.* Heb. viii, 6; ix, 15; xii, 24; with 1 Tim. ii, 5. [b] Heb. ix, 15, 16. [c] Gal. iii, 15, 17. *Schleusn. Lex. in voc.* διαθήκη. [d] ch. xiii, 20. [e] ch. xiii. 24. [f] 25. [g] *Comp.* Rom. xv, 33; xvi, 25—27; Eph. iii, 14—21; vi, 23, 24, &c. &c. *Macknight's Dissertation on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, and *Lardner*, 4to, vol. iii, 332.

ledged writings of Paul. The Greek of "the Hebrews" is more elegant and finished than that in which the apostle commonly wrote. There is indeed no other part of the New Testament, in which is displayed the same care and skill in the formation of sentences, or the same nicety in the tasteful selection of words.

This difficulty was felt by ancient ecclesiastical writers, no less forcibly than by modern critics. Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Jerome, account for the diversity in question, by supposing that the epistle was originally written in Hebrew, and was afterwards translated into Greek—by *Luke*, according to Clement; by *Clement of Rome*, according to Eusebius.[a] Origen accounts for the Greek style of the epistle somewhat differently: "To declare my own opinion," says this learned father, as quoted by Eusebius, "I should say that the sentiments are the apostle's, but that the language and composition are to be ascribed to some one who made notes of what the apostle said, (σχολιογραφήσαντος) and carefully reduced to writing the declarations of his master."[b]

There are good reasons for our not acceding to either of these traditions, or rather hypotheses. The conjecture of Origen is evidently an improbable one, and the notion that the epistle to the Hebrews, as we now read it, and as it was read, at the close of the first century, by Clement of Rome, is only the translation of a Hebrew original, appears to be untenable for several reasons. In the first place, no mention is made in the works of the fathers, or in the history of the church, of the actual existence of any such original;—secondly, the *paronomasia* which

[a] *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* iii, 38; vi, 14. *Hieron. de V. I.* cap. 5.
[b] *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi, cap. 25.

occur in this epistle can scarcely be supposed to have flowed from the pen of a translator;[6]—thirdly, the writer not only makes all his quotations of the Old Testament from the Septuagint version, but sometimes argues precisely on those parts of the passages quoted, in which that version differs from the Hebrew Text;[a]—lastly, the epistle, as read in Greek, displays throughout, that force and freedom of expression—that native beauty of texture—which it would be unreasonable to ascribe to any but an original writer.

Although, however, the difficulty before us cannot fairly be *thus* removed, it will, I believe, very much subside, if not entirely vanish, before an exact comparison of the phraseology of the epistle to the Hebrews, with that of Paul's acknowledged writings. These are found to be, in various particulars, *remarkably similar.*

First. In the acknowledged epistles of Paul, there are numerous Hebraisms, or Jewish idioms in a Greek dress. Now, although Origen speaks of the *purer Greek* of the epistle to the Hebrews, there is, probably, no part of the writings of the apostle, in which these Jewish idioms are more conspicuous.[7]

Secondly. The apostle often separates his premises from his conclusion, by a parenthetic discourse—Striking instances are afforded by Rom. ii, 12—16, v, 12—18; Eph. iii, 1—13; and a precisely similar example will be found, in Heb. iv, 6—11. The interruption, in Heb. vi, of the writer's argument respecting Melchizedek, is of the same character.[b]

[a] ii, 7, x, 5—10. [b] *Stuart*, vol. i, p. 191.

6 See for example, Heb. v, 8, ἔμαθεν, ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε: v, 14, καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ: vii, 3, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ: xi, 37, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν, &c.

7 A long list of examples is given in *Moses Stuart's* excellent work on this epistle. London Ed. vol. 1, p. 313.

Thirdly. Certain peculiarities of grammatical construction are common to this epistle, and to Paul's acknowledged writings. Paul frequently makes use of a neuter adjective instead of a substantive, as τὸ γνωστὸν,[a] τὸ χρηστὸν,[b] τὸ ἀσθενὲς.[c] So in Hebrews, τὸ ἀμετάθετον,[d] τὸ φανταζόμενον,[e] τὸ χωλὸν.[f] In Heb. vii, 11, we read Ὁ λαὸς γὰρ νενομοθέτητο. Here the *object* in the sentence takes the place of the *subject,* and assumes the form of a nominative to the verb, the meaning being, that the law was delivered *to* the people. A similar construction is observable in Rom. vi, 17, εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς—"the form of doctrine *whereto ye were delivered,*" instead of "*which was delivered to you.*"[g]

Fourthly. Many modes of expression, otherwise peculiar to Paul, are found in the epistle to the Hebrews; as in the following examples:—

Heb. v, 13, νήπιος γάρ ἐστι; "he is a babe"—that is, a child in religion, in an unfavorable sense. This sense is elsewhere given to the word only by Paul, who writes to the Corinthians ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ, as to *babes in Christ.*[h] On the contrary τέλειος, as used by Paul, expresses a state of advanced knowledge in religion.[i] And thus it is in Heb. v, 14. The word τελείοτης also, meaning "religious maturity or perfection," is peculiar, in the New Testament, to Paul and to this epistle.[k]

In Heb. vi, 3, we read ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέπῃ ὁ Θεός. "if God permit;" and in 1 Cor. xvi, 7, ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτρέπῃ. "if the Lord permit." No such phrase occurs elsewhere in the New Testament.

[a] Rom. i, 19. [b] Rom. ii, 4. [c] 1 Cor. i, 25, &c. &c. [d] Heb. vi, 17. [e] xii, 21. [f] xii, 13. [g] See also Rom. iii, 2, 1. Tim. 11. *Stuart,* vol. i, p. 209. [h] 1 Cor. iii 1.—*comp.* Eph. vi, 14. [i] 1 Cor. ii, 6. [k] Col. iii, 14. Heb. vi, 1.

In Heb. x, 1, and Col. ii, 17, and only in these passages, we find the expression of σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων, "a shadow of things to come." The application in both instances, is to the ceremonies of the Jewish law.[a]

Παῤῥησία to denote *boldness* in *approaching* God, is peculiar to Paul and this epistle. Heb. x, 19. "Having therefore, brethren, boldness (παῤῥησίαν) to enter into the holiest, &c.[b] "In whom we have boldness (παῤῥησίαν) and *access* with confidence," &c.

Heb. x, 38, "The just shall live by faith." The words are a quotation from the Old Testament, but they are cited and applied elsewhere, only by Paul.[c]

Heb. xiii, 20, Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης. "But the God of peace."[d] Προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν. "Pray for us."[e] These expressions, natural and simple as they are, are peculiar to our epistle, and to Paul.

In Heb. xii, 22, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουράνιος, that is, *heaven*, agrees with Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄνω, used with the same meaning in Gal. iv, 26.

Ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς, the "word of hearing" is put in Heb. iv, 2, for "the word preached. The same remarkable expressions (the articles excepted) are employed by Paul, and in the same sense.[f] The Greek scriptures supply no third example.

Finally, the following words which are common to this epistle, and the acknowledged writings of Paul, are not elsewhere used in the New Testament, or not elsewhere applied in the same manner. Ἁμαρτία, in the sense of a sin offering; μεσίτης, a mediator; διαθήκη, in the sense of a will; καύχημα, exultation; καταργέω, to

[a] *Comp.* Heb. viii, 5. [b] *Comp.* Eph. iii, 12. [c] Rom. i, 17. Gal. iii, 11. [d] *Comp.* Rom. xv, 33, Heb. xiii, 18. [e] xiii, 18 —*comp.* 1 Thes. v, 25. [f] 1 Thess. ii, 13.

denote annulling or destroying; ἀγὼν, "a race or conflict;" θεατριζέσθαι, (parallel to θέατρον γενέσθαι); "to be exposed to public shame;" στοιχεῖα, in the sense of "rudiments;" λειτουργὸς, "a minister:" πληροφορία, "assurance; ἐντυγχάνω, to describe the intercession of Christ; ἀδόκιμοι, "unfit, reprobate;" αἰδὼς, "reverence or modesty;" αἱρέομαι, to choose;" ἄκακος, "innocent;" ἐκλύω, in the sense of "desponding;" ὁμολογία, "religious profession;" ὑπόστασις, "confidence;" νεκρόω, "to mortify;" in the passive, "to be dead;" with a few others:[8] *Schmidii Concord. N. T.*

On a close inspection then it appears, that the points of resemblance between the Greek style of our anonymous author and of Paul, are numerous and highly characteristic. If then the epistle to the Hebrews is distinguished by a more beautiful mode of expression than the epistles of Paul in general, how is the difference to be accounted for? Not, it may be answered, by the supposition that this epistle was writ-

[8] Some of these examples of similarity in Greek *style*, between the acknowledged epistles of Paul, and that to the Hebrews, have long since fallen under my own observation; but most of them are borrowed from Stuart's work, which has lately been republished in London. Moses Stuart is an American divine, whose critical attainments appear to be of a high order. He has carefully studied the German biblical critics, and in the work now cited has, with admirable industry and good sense, refuted the objections made by Bertholdt, Schulz, Seyfarth, and others, against the Pauline origin of this epistle. The gravamen of their objections is the large number of words which are used in the epistle to the Hebrews, and which are not found in any other part of the New Testament, including Paul's epistles. But Stuart, to show the vanity of this negative mode of reasoning, applies it to the first epistle to the Corinthians, and proves that it would *equally* exclude this epistle from the canon of Paul's writings.

It may not be improper to state, that the bulk of the present essay was composed several years ago; and that the correspondence of my views with those of this more elaborate writer, on the subject of this epistle, arises from our having been led by a somewhat similar course of investigation, to the same results.

ten by some other person, for there are in the acknowledged works of Paul, (notwithstanding his general neglect of "excellency of speech") many passages which prove that he was fully capable of elegant writing: but rather by a fact which no one who is accustomed to the perusal of Paul's writings will deny, namely, that the epistle to the Hebrews is much more *elaborate*, than any of his acknowledged epistles. Not one of them is so little familiar; not one of them displays the same marks of a studious carefulness in the formation and arrangement of the author's argument. It appears that this carefulness was applied by the apostle, not only to that object, but also to the construction of his sentences and the choice of his words; and thus, probably, the Greek style of this epistle became more polished, than that in which he usually wrote, for the simple reason, that it was more attended to—more *studied*.

On the review of the evidences which have now been stated, the reader will observe,

First, That Peter when writing to Jews, speaks of one of Paul's epistles addressed to the same people—that this description applies to none of Paul's epistles, except that to the Hebrews—and that a comparison between 2 Pet. iii, and some remarkable passages in "the Hebrews" strongly confirms the opinion that this was in fact the epistle to which Peter alluded as the work of Paul.

Secondly, That towards the end of the second century, this epistle was received as Paul's, on the authority of primitive tradition, by the Alexandrine fathers; and after that period by the Greek fathers without any known exception—by the Syrian church

—and finally (notwithstanding the contrary judgment of Irenæus, Tertullian, Caius, and some persons at Rome in the fourth century) by the christians in the west.

Thirdly, That the nearly unanimous testimony of tradition in favour of the Pauline origin of this epistle, is abundantly supported by internal evidence—viz. by the information to be gathered from it respecting the circumstances of its author—by the indications which it affords of the *mind* of Paul—by the form in which its subjects are arranged—by its correspondence with his acknowledged works in a great variety of characteristic doctrines, thoughts, figures, and allusions.

Fourthly, That the superiority of the Greek style of "the Hebrews" in point of polish and beauty, over that in which Paul usually wrote, may be explained by the more elaborate character of the whole composition, and that a detailed comparison of some of the phraseology contained in it, with that of his acknowledged writings, strongly indicates, independently of other evidences, that Paul was indeed its author.

On the whole, when we remember the difficulty necessarily attaching to this question, in consequence of the epistle's being anonymous, we must, I think, confess that the evidences by which it is traced to Paul as its author, are as comprehensive and satisfactory as the nature of the case was likely to admit. I conceive it to be no more than reasonable to rely, with confidence, on so strong and almost uninterrupted a probability. Now, it must be repeated, that if we allow the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by Paul, we cannot hesitate to ascribe to that treatise, no less than to his other works, the character of divine inspiration, and therefore of canonical authority. In order however

to complete the discussion of our present subject, we may now lay aside this particular question, and consider whether, *independently* of the hypothesis that Paul was its author, we are not justified in receiving the epistle to the Hebrews, as inspired and canonical?

In reference to this view of the subject, I have in the first place to observe that *the epistle to the Hebrews, was written during the apostolic age.* The truth of this proposition is proved by the quotations from the epistle, or allusions to it, made by successive fathers of the church, from the first century of the christian era, downwards. Amongst the fathers mentioned in the preceding part of the present dissertation, are Irenæus, Tertullian, Pantænus, and Clement of Alexandria, all of whom flourished during the second century. Our earliest testimony, however, to the antiquity of this epistle, is that of Clement of Rome, who *died* in the year 100. That Clement of Rome borrowed largely from the epistle to the Hebrews, will, I am persuaded, be evident to every one who compares the passages cited below. In some of these examples, Clement uses the very words of the apostle. In others, he varies a little from the original, and, as was natural in a borrower, expresses himself more diffusely.[8] In addition to these passages, and various others of a similar kind, the reader may be referred to Clem. 1 Cor. cap. ix, which contains the following sentence respecting Enoch, Λάβωμεν

[8]

Hebrews.	Clement.
No. 1.	No. 1.
i, 3. "Ος ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης ....4. Τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.	Cap. 36. "Ος ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσούτῳ μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκε.

Ἐνὼχ, ὃς ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος εὑρεθεὶς, μετετέθη, καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος. "Let us take for example Enoch, who, having by his obedience been proved to be righteous, was translated, and *his death was not*

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7. Λέγει· Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

5. Τίνι γὰρ εἶπέ ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων· Υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ;——

13. Πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκέ ποτε· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου ;

Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης· υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

.... καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

No. 2.

iv, 12.... καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας.

No. 2.

Cap. xxi. .... οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιούμεθα.

.... ἐρευνητὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων.

No. 3.

xi, 37.... περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασι.

No. 3.

Cap. xvii. οἵτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν.

No. 4.

iii, 2. Πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν, ὡς καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

5. Καὶ Μωϋσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ὡς θεράπων.

No. 4.

Cap. xvii. Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη.

Cap. xliii. Ὁ μακάριος πιστὸς θεράπων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ, Μωϋσῆς.

No. 5.

xi, 8. Πίστει καλούμενος Ἀβραὰμ ὑπήκουσεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὸν τύπον, κ.τ.λ.

No. 5.

Cap. x. Ἀβραὰμ ..... πιστὸς εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπήκοον γενέσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτος δι' ὑπακοῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, κ. τ. λ.

No. 6.

xi, 31. Πίστει Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐ συναπώλετο τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι, δεξαμένη τοὺς κατασκόπους μετ' εἰρήνης.

No. 6.

Cap. xii. Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη.

The reader will observe, that Clement introduces the words and sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews without giving notice that he quotes. This method of citation from Scripture is very common among theological writers, and is often adopted in the New Testament itself. From the manner of Clement's argument, it is not unrea-

found." The strange expressions with which Clement concludes this sentence were certainly not derived from Gen. v, 24, (the only passage of the Old Testament relating to the translation of Enoch), the septuagint version of which is as follows, *καὶ εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκετο, ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός.* "And Enoch pleased God, and he was not found, because God had translated him;"—a passage which says nothing of Θάνατος, *death.* Whence then were these expressions borrowed? Evidently from Hebrews xi, 5; *Πίστει, Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη, τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον· καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκετο, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός.* "By faith Enoch was translated, that *he should not see death,* and was not found, because God had translated him." Here we have the word Θάνατον, *death;* and the phraseology in the epistle is such, that a

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sonable to conclude, that he made his appeal to the contents of that epistle, on the ground that they formed a part of the Holy Scriptures and were of divine authority. But whatever judgment we may form on this subject, the above comparison affords ample evidence, that the Author of the Hebrews was the *original writer,* and Clement the *copier.*

In the following passages from Clement's epistle, as compared with parallel parts of the "Hebrews," the more diffuse and less simple style of the *borrower,* is still more conspicuous.

No. 7.

xi, 36—39. Ἕτεροι δὲ ἐμπαιγμῶν καὶ μαστίγων πεῖραν ἔλαβον, ἔτι δὲ δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς. Ἐλιθάσθησαν, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον.... καὶ οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

No. 8.

xii, 1, 2.... τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων .... δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα. ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν, κ.τ.λ.

No. 7.

Cap. xlv. Ἐδιώχθησαν δίκαιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνόμων· ἐνεφυλακίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνοσίων· ἐλιθάσθησαν ὑπὸ παρονόμων· ἀπεκτάνθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν μιαρῶν καὶ ἄδικον ζῆλον ἀνειληφότων. Ταῦτα πάσχοντες εὐκλειῶς ἤνεγκαν.

No. 8.

Cap. xix. Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειληφότες παραδειγμάτων ἐπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκόπον καὶ ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα, κ.τ.λ.

reader of it might not improbably understand θάνατος as the nominative case to the verb εὑρίσκετο. This appears to have been the case with Clement, who has accordingly written οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος, *his death was not found.* On the subject of Clement's quotations, it only remains for us to adduce the testimony of Eusebius, who, when speaking of the first epistle of that father to the Corinthians, (which he calls an epistle "acknowledged by all") remarks that the author "has inserted many sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and has also used some of the very words of it, thereby plainly manifesting that epistle (to the Hebrews) to be no modern treatise."[9]

The apostolic date of this epistle appears, *in the second place,* from internal evidences; for there are passages in it, which plainly evince that it was written before the taking of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple; that is, *before the year of our Lord,* 70. "If he (Christ) were on earth," says the author, "he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests, *that offer gifts according to the law, who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things.*"[a] "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest *entereth into the holy place every year* with the blood of others."[b] "We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat, *that serve the tabernacle.*"[c] The services mentioned in these passages as *practised at the time when the author wrote,* necessarily ceased when the temple at Jerusalem was destroyed. The epistle

[a] ch. viii, 4, 5. [b] ch. ix, 25. [c] ch. xiii, 10.—*comp.* x, 11.

[9] Eusebius further concludes from these premises, that the epistle was reckoned by Clement of Rome, with the other works of Paul—Ὅθεν εἰκότως ἔδοξεν αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεχθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii, cap. 38.

must therefore have been written before that event took place—i. e. during the primitive age of the christian church.

A *third* evidence of the apostolic date of this epistle is the mention made in it of Timothy,[a] and a *fourth* is derived from its being comprised (as already stated) in the earliest existing versions of the New Testament.

Lastly, It may be remarked that the writer of "the Hebrews" addresses persons who had received their instruction in the gospel from the *immediate followers of Christ;*—"How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, *and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him.*"[b] Since however he afterwards alludes to "the former days," wherein those to whom he writes were first enlightened,[c] and also speaks of the death of their first teachers,[d] we may conclude that it was in the latter part of the age of the apostles that this epistle was composed. On the whole, it appears to be for substantial reasons, that the generality of biblical critics have concluded that it was written a *few years* before A. D. 70.

A second proposition which is of considerable importance to our argument, and which I conceive to be susceptible of satisfactory proof, is that the epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to the christian church in Palestine. The title which it now bears—"To the Hebrews" is found, as far as I can ascertain, in all manuscripts, versions, and editions. Neither Griesbach nor Wetstein have adduced a single exception, and that

[a] ch. xiii, 23. [b] ch. ii, 3. [c] ch. x, 32. [d] ch. xiii, 7.

this title is coeval or nearly coeval with the epistle itself, may be concluded from the testimony of two very early fathers, Origen and Tertullian, who both make mention of the epistle, *as bearing such an inscription.*[a] Clement of Alexandria has also quoted it expressly as "the epistle to the Hebrews," and the same may be said of most of the numerous fathers, both Greek and Latin, by whom it has been cited. The records of antiquity therefore afford us a direct and satisfactory evidence, that the epistle was addressed to Jews. This evidence is strengthened by the tenor of the work itself, the whole argument of which is connected with the ancient law of that people, and supposes in those to whom it is addressed, not only an intimate acquaintance with the Jewish law, but such an undue attachment to it, as it was evidently the writer's intention to weaken and diminish. It is clear however, that the epistle was not in the first instance addressed to Jewish christians *in general;* but to those of one community, living in one particular place, or at farthest, in one particular country. The peculiar circumstances of some distinct church are plainly alluded to in several passages of the epistle. Thus in ch. v, 12, we read of the length of time which had elapsed since these Hebrews had first received the knowledge of the truth; in vi, 10, of the diligence which they had displayed in ministering to the saints; in x, 33, 34, of the persecutions which they had cheerfully undergone, and of their compassion towards their brethren, in bonds; and in xii, 4, of their not having yet "resisted unto blood." Again—the writer says, "Pray for us; but I beseech you the

[a] *Tert. de Pud.* cap. xx. *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi, 25.

rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner." "Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you."[a] Such expressions would be quite unsuitable in a catholic epistle, and clearly indicate that the writer had in view some one community of christians. Now we read of no christian community *consisting entirely or chiefly of Jews*, but that in Palestine. This was the only *christian* community which could possibly be addressed as *the Hebrews*. The title therefore of the epistle, as found in all manuscripts and versions, and as quoted by so many of the early fathers, affords a sufficient evidence not only that the epistle was written to the Hebrews, but that it was addressed to that particular body of christians, which could alone be so denominated; viz. the christians in Palestine.[b]

In confirmation of this conclusion, which appears to be adopted by the great majority of biblical critics, both ancient and modern; it may be observed, *first*, that the name *Hebrews*, is most properly applied to persons, who were not only Jews by birth, but, who moreover, were accustomed to the *vernacular* use of the Hebrew or Chaldaic language:[c]—and *secondly*, that although the general argument of the epistle was calculated for the instruction of christian Jews wherever situated, yet the familiar appeal made by the writer to the persons whom he is addressing, respecting the localities of the temple, the sacred things which it contained, and the ceremonies practised within its inclosure, was preeminently adapted to the habits and

[a] ch. xiii, 19, 23. [b] *Chrysostom, Ed. Bened. tom.* xii, p. 2. *Theodoret and Theophylact, Argum. in Ep. ad Heb. Lardner,* vol. iii, p. 235. [c] Acts vi, 1; xxi, 40; xxii, 2.

associations of *those* christian Jews, who dwelt in Jerusalem, or in the country of which it was the capital.[1]

Now it is certain that during the apostolic age, the church at Jerusalem (to which, as is most probable,

1 Of the objections which some of the German critics have advanced against the opinion, that the epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to the Christians of *Palestine*, two only appear to require notice. The first is drawn from Heb. xii, 4. "*Ye have not yet resisted unto blood*, striving against sin, &c." "How could these words," it is asked, "be addressed to the Christians at Jerusalem, who had witnessed the martyrdom of Stephen, A. D. 37, and that of James, in the time of Herod's persecution, A. D. 44?" To this question it may be replied, that even in the days of Stephen and James, *resistance unto blood*, amongst the Christians in Palestine, was probably confined to these individuals, and certainly did not extend to the persons here addressed; but that the apostle wrote this epistle at a later date, and when the church of Palestine was under different circumstances. Accordingly we find that the persecutions which they had *formerly* suffered are alluded to in strong language, in chap. x, 32. "But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a *great fight of afflictions*, *&c.*" The martyrdom of James the less, under the high priest Ananus, probably took place at a date subsequent to that of this epistle.

A second objection is made, on the ground of the epistle's having been written in Greek, which, it is said, was improbable, on the supposition of its having been addressed by a Hebrew, to those who were accustomed to speak and write in that language. Stuart satisfactorily answers this objection, by observing, first, that in the earliest age of the church, the Greek language was extensively spoken and written, and the Septuagint version of the Old Testament familiarly understood, among the Jews of Palestine, as is indeed evident from the four gospels; and secondly, that unless the epistle had been written in Greek, it could not have answered what may reasonably be supposed to have been the apostle's ultimate purpose —that of communicating permanent instruction to converts from Judaism to Christianity in every part of the world. See *Stuart*, vol. I, p. 68, 80. It is surprising that this judicious author, after having so elaborately supported the opinion, that this epistle was addressed to the *Hebrews of Palestine*, should have advanced the hypothesis that the particular church of Palestine, to which it was written, was that at *Cæsarea*. It seems to me a sufficient refutation of such an idea, that the first converts at Cæsarea (viz. Cornelius and his family) were *Gentiles*, and that from the character and situation of that city, as a great commercial emporium on the sea coast, and as the seat of the Roman Government, there is reason

the epistle to the Hebrews was principally, perhaps singly, addressed) was regarded by christians in other parts of the world with peculiar deference and respect. It was at Jerusalem that our Saviour conversed with his disciples, died, and rose again; it was there that the saints were first gathered together after the death of Jesus; and there that the miraculous gifts of the spirit were first poured out upon them. Hence the community of christians at Jerusalem was esteemed as a parent church, and its authority was the greater, because it was so long governed by some of the apostles. We may learn from the book of Acts, that the decrees of the assembled church in that city were received by christians in other places with unqualified submission;[a] and Paul requested the prayers of his brethren in Italy, that his services might be accepted of the saints at Jerusalem.[b]

It is equally indubitable, that during the same early period—the period appointed for the first establishment in the world of the christian religion—the miraculous endowments of the Holy Ghost and the gift of direct inspiration were poured forth, not only on the apostles, but, in various degrees, and according to the nature of their respective callings, upon numerous other individuals. There is reason to believe, as has been elsewhere remarked, that such endowments were the common portion of *all* those persons, who filled

[a] Acts xv, 22—31.

[b] Rom. xv, 31,—*comp.* Acts xi, 1—18; xxi, 18—25.

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to believe, that the church there consisted principally of those who were *not* "Hebrews." It is most probable, I conceive, that all the Jewish Christians of Palestine were addressed in this epistle: but if there is evidence of any further restriction, it surely points to Jerusalem rather than to Cæsarea. See *Stuart*, vol. 1. p. 83.

the more eminent offices, or performed the more important duties of the primitive church.[a]

No one will deny that it was a duty of a highly important nature to address a doctrinal treatise to those persons, who had been the first to receive and disseminate the truths of christianity; to stir up the pure mind in that very community of christians, which was regarded by other churches with so much reverence: and it is evidently very improbable that at such a period, so eminent a duty should devolve on any individual, who was not avowedly gifted with divine inspiration. This improbability is very much enhanced by the contents of the epistle itself, in which there is a manifest assumption of a very exalted authority. It abounds, more than almost any part of the sacred volume, in decisive declarations of the most important doctrines, in warm and fearless exhortation, and even in spirited rebuke. Of an authoritative exhibition of doctrine there can scarcely be found a more sublime specimen than in the commencement of this epistle. "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things; by whom also he made the worlds; who, being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high." Of severe reproof I would adduce as an instance, chap. v, 11—13. "Of whom (i. e. Melchizedek) we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are

[a] *Essays on Christianity*, 2nd edition, 8vo. p. 98.

dull of hearing; for when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye *have need that one teach you again, which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk and not of strong meat.*" Of fervid and powerful exhortation a more striking example need not be selected than chap. xii, 25—29. "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not, who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that (speaketh) from heaven, &c. &c."[a] Surely it is no more than reasonable to believe, that the individual, who, in the first age of christianity, could address, in language thus distinguished for its boldness, decision, and authority, the principal and parent community of christians,—must either have been an apostle, or else one of those companions of the apostles, who were fully acknowledged in the church to be endowed with *immediate and absolute inspiration.*

Independently, however, of any consideration repecting the church to which this epistle was addressed, our reliance on its divine authority may safely be grounded (in connexion with its apostolic date) upon its *own internal excellence and scriptural weight.* Whether indeed we regard the gravity and *efficacy* of the language in which it is couched; or the high importance of the doctrines which it unfolds; or the power with which those doctrines are applied and inforced; we shall perceive ample reason for believing that it is rightly included in the canon of inspired writings. To

[a] Also, for doctrine see ch. ii, 14—18; iv, 12, 13; vi, 4—8; vii, 24—28; xi, 1; xii, 22—24: for rebuke, xii, 4, 5: for exhortation, ii, 1—3; iii, 1, 2, 7, 8, 15; iv, 1, 2, 14—16; vi, 11, 12; x, 19—27; xii, 1—3; xiii, 1—19.

confine our views, for the sake of brevity, to its doctrines,—Dr. Owen observes that he who forms a just estimate of them "will be ready to conclude that the world may as well want the sun, as the church this epistle." Without assenting to this proposition, which is derogatory to the other scriptures, we may with truth remark, that had it not been for the epistle to the Hebrews, the revelation of christian truth would have been left comparatively incomplete; for there are recorded in that epistle doctrines of great moment, which are either not declared at all, or not declared with the same fulness and perspicuity, in any other part of the sacred volume. It is only in the epistle to the Hebrews, that we find a direct and explicit revelation of three great truths, respecting the sacerdotal and sacrificial observances of the ancient Jews; the first, that they were typical *of Christ;* the second, that they were in themselves utterly unprofitable for the purpose of redemption from sin; the third, that they were all annulled by the sacrifice of the Son of God, and by the introduction of a spiritual dispensation. Whether we consider the vast importance of these truths to the scheme of Christianity, or the strength and prevalence, in the Jewish believers, of those prejudices which they contradict and overturn, we must surely admit, that, for their original promulgation and permanent record, no influence and authority would suffice, but those of direct and *confessed* inspiration. The *priesthood* of Jesus Christ is another doctrine of peculiar importance in the christian scheme, —a doctrine abounding with support and consolation to every humble believer: now, although this doctrine is briefly declared in Psalm cx, it is unfolded at length, explained in its several particulars, and traced

to its practical results, only in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Other doctrines, which are by no means peculiar to this epistle, are nevertheless declared in it with a pre-eminent degree of clearness and power. Where shall we find a more sublime description of the personal dignity and divine character of the Son of God, than in the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews?—Where, so luminous a statement of the practical operation of *faith*, as in the eleventh chapter of the same epistle? Or who shall persuade us that he was not inspired, who could draw that most forcible of contrasts, and, for the encouragement of believers in every age, pronounce with so much authority, that "we are not come unto the mount that might be touched and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words: which voice they that heard intreated that the word should not be spoken to them any more"—but "unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel?"

It is needless to carry our argument further. With all those persons who are accustomed to study this epistle for their spiritual benefit, may safely be left the consideration of the question, whether there is any part of the Bible—with the single exception of the recorded discourses of our Lord himself—in which, *on the whole*, the wisdom of God appears to be more

deeply seated ; any, upon which the power of the great Inspirer has produced more *conspicuous* effects ; any, from which the christian derives more frequent or more edifying lessons of doctrinal and practical truth ?

Well may we be thankful to that superintending Providence, which has caused this invaluable treatise to be handed down to us from age to age, as a constituent part of the divine record ; well may we be jealous of every attempt to shake its authority or to remove it from its place.

No. 2.

On the preexistence of Jesus Christ before John the Baptist.

JOHN i, 15. Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτος μου ἦν.

"He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he *was before me.*" *Eng. Trans.*

The Editors of the Unitarian New Version of the New Testament, entitled the "Improved Version," (which work I shall hereafter designate by the letters U. N. V.) have rendered this passage, "He who cometh after me, is before me, *for he is my principal.*"

To this translation of the last clause in the sentence —πρῶτος μου ἦν—there are two obvious objections. In the first place, the verb ἦν expresses the past, not the present time. The extreme plainness of this verb forbids our confounding it with ἐστὶ, and it is surely by no means fair on the part of the editors to render ἦν *as if it was* ἐστὶ, without giving their unwary English readers the least notice of so important a variation from the original text. For such a variation there is no authority whatever. In the second place, it is harsh and anomalous to render πρῶτος as a noun substantive governing a genitive case.

It may be freely allowed that the adjective πρῶτος is sometimes applied to denote preeminence of station or dignity, but by the apostle John it is never used, except in its original and still more common sense of priority

in point of time;[a] and that this is the sense in which he *here* employs the word, is clearly indicated by the past verb ἦν.

Πρῶτος, denoting priority of time, is sometimes followed, as in the present instance, by a noun or pronoun in the genitive. There is one similar example in N. T. viz. in John xv, 18, ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίσηκεν, "(the world) hated me, *before* it hated you." Dr. Pye Smith has cited two others from the Classics. The first is in Athenæus; πρώτη δὲ εὑρηται ἡ περὶ τοὺς πόδας κίνησις τῆς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν. "the movement with the feet was invented before that with the hands." The second is in Chariton, Δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον τῶν λογῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀναγκαίους παρεῖναι ἐν τῇ δίκῃ. "It is requisite that *before the pleadings*, all the relatives should be present at the trial;"[b] to which may be added the following passage from Aristophanes quoted by Grotius, "Ηρξε τῶν Περσῶν πρῶτον Δαρείου καὶ Μεγαβύζου. "He reigned over the Persians *before* Darius and Megabyzus."[c]

On the grounds now stated, there is reason to believe, that the words πρῶτός μου ἦν cannot fairly be explained otherwise than as declaring the actual preexistence of Jesus before John. The ancient versions of the passage all present this meaning. In the Arabic Polyglott, the two Syriac, the Ethiopic, and the Persic versions, the words are rendered, "He was more ancient than I;"—in the Vulgate, "prior me erat." Accordingly Schleusner states, that πρῶτος is here used for πρότερος.[d]

It might however be more correct to say, that the preposition πρὸ is understood before the genitive pro-

[a] John i, 41; v, 4; viii, 7; xx, 4, 8; 1 John iv, 19, and Apoc. *passim.* [b] *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, vol. ii, p. 38. [c] *In loc.* vid. *Arist. Aves l.* 484. [d] *Lex. N. T.* in voc.

noun, in which case, πρῶτος may retain its proper sense of *primus*. The fuller form is found in Luke xi, 38—οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου—"he had not *first* washed *before* dinner." *Eng. Trans.*: and a similar mode of rendering the idiom, when πρὸ is not expressed, suits all the above cited examples. A bird, according to the burlesque of Aristophanes, ruled over the Persians *first of all, (before)* Darius and Megabyzus. The use of the legs was discovered *first, (before)* that of the hands. The parties interested in the cause were *in the first place* to be in court, *(before)* the pleadings should commence. The world hated Jesus *first*; and *afterwards* it hated his disciples. Hence we may gather the apostle's meaning to be, that Christ was not only before John, but *first* before him; that is, that he was before John, and before all other creatures also. Thus the declaration of the Baptist, respecting his divine successor, accords with that of the evangelist himself, "IN THE BEGINNING was the word.[a] Theophylact explains these words as relating to the deity of Jesus Christ; and adds the following paraphrase; καὶ γὰρ πρῶτός μου ἦν κατὰ τὴν πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ πατρὸς γέννησιν, εἰ καὶ ὀπίσω μου ἦλθε κατὰ τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ παρουσίαν; "for indeed he was first (before) me, in respect to his being *from eternity begotten of the Father*, although he came after me, in respect to his appearance in the flesh."

Before we conclude this note, it may be desirable to offer a few remarks on the preceding clause—ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν. The received English version of this clause—"is preferred before me"—agrees with the explanation given of it by Theophylact, who (after Chrysostom) paraphrases it by προτιμότερός μου καὶ ἐν-

[a] ch. i, 1.

δοξότερος ἐγένετο—i. e. "was more honourable and glorious than I." This interpretation, however, can scarcely be regarded as tenable, since the adverb ἔμπροσθεν, which is of frequent occurrence in the Greek scriptures, (including the Septuagint version of the Old Testament,) is in no one instance descriptive of dignity or superiority,[a] neither does it appear to adopt such a meaning in classical Greek. This adverb, which properly signifies *coram, e conspectu*, is, often applied by Greek authors, both sacred and profane, to priority of date. He who goes before the face of a man, necessarily precedes him in point of time, and therefore he who precedes him in point of time, is naturally described as going *before his face*.[b] In the Septuagint version of O. T. upon the model of which the writers of the New Testament appear to have partly formed their style, ἔμπροσθεν is commonly employed to express precedence *in time*, and sometimes in connexion with the verb γένεσθαι;[c] [1] It has also been observed that in the passage now under discussion, ἔμπροσθεν is placed in antithesis with ὀπίσω; and that, since ὀπίσω here expresses "after" *in point of time*, it is most probable that ἔμπροσθεν denotes "before" in point of time.

On these grounds Schleusner and Rosenmüller, with the generality of commentators, conclude that the words ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν simply describe the pre-existence of Jesus before John—an interpretation which is supported by the Vulgate, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persic, and Syriac versions. If we adopt this conclusion, we must regard both these clauses as declarative

[a] *Concc. Trommii et Schmidii.* [b] Matt. xi, 10; Mark i, 2; John iii, 28. [c] 1 Kings xvi, 25; 2 Kings xxiii, 25, &c.

[1] For instances of a similar use of the word in classical Greek, see *Steph. Thes.* in voc.

of the same doctrine, the latter being intended to confirm and elucidate the former. "This is he, of whom I said, He that cometh after me was before me; and I said so, because he was indeed before me, as being in *the beginning* with God."

The reader will perceive that this paraphrase rests on the supposition that the *former speech* to which the Baptist here alludes, consisted simply of the words ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, and that *now*, by way of strengthening and justifying that assertion, he adds, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν. On such a supposition it is indeed almost indispensable to interpret both the clauses as relating essentially to the *same* doctrine.

I confess, however, that the repetition of the *whole* sentence in verse 30, seems to render it probable that both these clauses belonged to that *original saying* of his, to which the Baptist here refers; and in that case it is worthy of consideration, whether ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονε, may not with still greater propriety be interpreted in a different manner—so as to remove from the sentence all appearance of tautology. Although ἔμπροσθεν cannot well be understood as denoting superior *dignity*, there is no critical objection to its being rendered in its native sense of *coram, e conspectu*. The meaning of the phrase may then be, "He that cometh after me has overtaken me," or more literally, "has *got* before me."[2] The familiar English word "got,"

[2] This version of ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν is proposed by Newcome Cappe of York, one of the most learned of the Unitarian critics; but this writer mars the sentence by rendering ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν, "for he was my principal." I conceive him to be mistaken also in applying the illustration from the words, ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστιν, to this *latter* clause. The declaration that Jesus was *stronger than John* elucidates the fact that he *overtook* his harbinger; but is itself elucidated by the doctrine, that before John existed, Jesus was the *First*. See Cappe's *Crit. Remarks*, vol. i, p. 107.

exactly represents one of the most common significations of γέγονε, which properly implies a change from one condition to another. John may here be considered as presenting himself to the people inthe chaarcter of the harbinger of a mighty prince. The harbinger precedes; but the prince who begins his mortal race at a later period, is possessed of far superior powers—he follows and overtakes him. The same idea appears to have occupied the mind of the Baptist on another occasion, when he cried out, ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστὶν—"He that cometh after me, is *stronger* than I."[a] And why is he stronger, why has he thus overtaken me in the race? Because, he was First before me—because, before I existed, he was the First, i. e. the divine, eternal, unchangeable, Word.

[a] Matt. iii, 11.

No. 3.

On Christ, the Redeemer—the Living One—in the time of Job.

Job xix, 25. : וַאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי גֹּאֲלִי חָי וְאַחֲרוֹן עַל־עָפָר יָקוּם

"For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand in the latter day upon the earth:" *Eng. Tr.*

This passage of Scripture is fairly quoted as affording an evidence of the preexistence of the Lord Jesus. When Job exclaimed, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," he plainly did not allude to any of his fellow-creatures, but to a divine protector, from whom he expected his deliverance; and that the name "Redeemer" was here appropriated to *the Son of God*, appears from the expressions which follow, and which may, without any force upon the original, be rendered, as in the English translation, "he shall stand in the latter day upon the earth." In support of this version, it might be observed, *first*, that אַחֲרוֹן may be here used adverbially, to signify "*in the latter day —postremo;*" the preposition ב or ל, by which the word when so used is mostly preceded, being understood. *Secondly*, that עָפָר, in several passages of scripture, appears to signify *the earth—ipsa terra.*[a] *Thirdly*, that a similar version of the passage is given by that faithful and accurate interpreter, the ancient Syriac

[a] *Simonis Lexicon*, in voc.

translator. "Ego quidem scio, quod Salvator meus vivens sit, et in consummatione super terram appariturus."

It must at the same time be allowed, that the Hebrew words are capable of a yet more literal and probable version. חַי is an adjective, signifying "vivus;" אַחֲרוֹן is also an adjective, and signifies "last;" עָפָר is properly rendered "dust," and may here describe the dust into which the dead body of a man moulders, as in ch. x, 9; xxxiv, 15. The passage therefore may rather be rendered as follows. "For I know that my Redeemer is the living one; and he, the last, shall stand (or rise) up over the dust." So Albert Schultens, "Enim vero ego novi vindicem meum vivum, eumque novissimum super pulverem staturum"—a version entirely agreeable to the context, which evidently relates to the resurrection of the dead. Whether however we adopt the common English version of these words, or that proposed by Schultens, it is evident that they are applicable only to the Son of God—the great Redeemer of mankind—who, as the Incarnate one, has already stood upon the earth, and who in the day of final retribution, will again appear in the world, stand over the dust, and raise the dead to life.[a]

It is a circumstance well worthy of observation, that Job, in this passage, not only alludes to the Son of God, as the "*Living one*," but recognizes him as existing in the appropriate character of a "*Redeemer*." In this respect, the passage admits of a comparison with the words of the dying Jacob, who ascribed to the *angel of the covenant*, his redemption from all evil. "The angel which *redeemed me* (הַגֹּאֵל) *from all*

[a] Mark xiii, 26; John xiv, 3; Acts i, 11; John v, 28; Phil. iii, 21. &c.

evil, bless the lads ;"[a] also with one of Isaiah's prophecies respecting the coming of Christ.—"The Redeemer (גּוֹאֵל) shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith Jehovah."[b]

To what extent the religious views of Job may have comprehended the doctrine of christian redemption, it is impossible for us now to determine. Nevertheless, since we are assured by our Lord, that Abraham "rejoiced to see" the day of Christ, and that he "saw it, and was glad ;"[c]—since we are elsewhere informed, that the patriarchs who died before the promises respecting the Messiah were accomplished, nevertheless *saw* those promises *afar off*, were *persuaded* of them, and *embraced* them[d]—we may reasonably believe that when Job spake of the Son of God as his *Redeemer*, his thoughts were directed to a matter of far deeper importance, than a deliverance from merely temporal calamity.

In confirmation of this remark, it may not be irrelevant to observe, that the idea of *redemption* as expressed in the Hebrew Scriptures, by the verb גָּאַל (the verb most commonly employed for the purpose) is in various respects analogous to the *doctrinal* account presented to us in the New Testament, of the redemption of mankind by our Lord Jesus Christ. גָּאַל denotes deliverance from bondage, oppression, or death, by means either of *price* or *power*. It was by a *price* paid for the purpose, that an Israelite was to be *redeemed*, who had sold himself into slavery ;[e] and by the same means was *redemption* to be effected from the obligation of vows.[f] On the other hand, it was with the "stretched

[a] Gen. xlviii, 16. [b] Isa. lix, 20. [c] John viii, 56. [d] Heb. xi, 13: *comp.* ver. 39. [e] Levit. xxv, 48, 49, 54. [f] Lev. xxvii, 1—10.

out arm" of *power*, that the Lord promised to *redeem* his people from the "bondage" of the Egyptians.[a] Again, when deliverance from the Babylonian captivity is foretold, the "redemption" then to be wrought for Israel is usually described as an act of power—"The Lord hath comforted his people; he hath *redeemed* Jerusalem: the Lord hath *made bare his holy arm* in the presence of all the nations, &c.;"[b] but it is also represented as a purchase—as effected through the payment of an appointed price—"I have *redeemed* thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art *mine*....I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee....I have loved thee; therefore will I give men for thee, and people for thy life."[c]

Now the verb גָּאַל is represented in the Septuagint version by λυτρόω, which, with its derivatives λύτρωσις and ἀπολύτρωσις, is employed in the New Testament to express the redemption of mankind by our Lord Jesus Christ: and this object, all-important for the happiness and welfare of our species, is represented as effected both by *price* and by *power*. The Redeemer of men is, in the New Testament, held up to our view, first as giving his life a *ransom* (λύτρον, or ἀντίλυτρον) for us,[d] or as *purchasing* us with his blood, and, secondly, as actually delivering us from the dominion of sin by the *powerful* influence of his Spirit. Both parts of the work are clearly set forth in Eph. v, 25, 26—"Christ also loved his church and *gave himself* for it, that he might *sanctify* and *cleanse* it with the washing of water by the word:" also in Tit. ii, 13, 14, "Jesus Christ, who *gave himself* for us, that he might *redeem* us (λυτρώσηται) *from all iniquity*, and *purify*

[a] Exod. vi, 6. [b] Isa. lii, 9, 10. *Comp.* Jer. xxxi, 11.
[c] Isa. xliii, 1, 3, 4. [d] Matt. xx, 28; 1 Tim. ii, 6.

unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." In 1 Pet. i, 18, 19, the price paid for our redemption is admirably contrasted with the money, which the ancient Israelites, when numbered, were required to pay as a "ransom, to make an atonement for their souls;"[a] or with that by which they were accustomed to redeem the lives of their first born sons.[b] Yet even here, redemption includes the idea of an actual deliverance *from a sinful condition*—"Pass the time of your sojourning here in fear, forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed (ἐλυτρώθητε) with corruptible things, as silver and gold, *from your vain conversation* received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Christ," &c.

The etymology of the verb גָּאַל is doubtful; but by Michaelis and Simon this verb is supposed to derive its *general sense* of redeeming from its peculiar use, as descriptive of the offices of the Goël—גּוֹאֵל.[c] Since Job here denominates Christ his *Goël*, some consideration of these offices will tend to the further elucidation of our subject. They were of a marked and singular nature, and may well be conceived to have been known to Job, even on the supposition that he lived before Moses: for they appear to be mentioned in the Pentateuch, not as first instituted by the Mosaic law, but as already understood and practised; and it is by no means improbable that they were familiar to other nations of the East, besides the Hebrews. The Goël, or Redeemer, of any individual was his nearest male kinsman, or in case of his refusing to act, the next to the nearest, and so on, without any particular limitation. If the individual was murdered, his Goël was allowed and expected to avenge his death by slay-

[a] Exod. xxx, 12,—15. [b] Num. iii, 40—51; xviii, 16.
[c] See *Mich. Sup. ad Lex. Heb.* in voc. *Sim. Lex. Heb.* in voc.

ing the murderer.[a] If he died a natural death, and left no children, it became the office of his Goël to marry his widow, and to raise up children for the preservation of his name and lineage.[b] If he mortgaged or sold his inheritance, his Goël, if of ability, was bound in honour to liberate or repurchase the estate.[c] If, in the depth of his poverty, he sold himself for a slave to a stranger in the land, his Goël was required to pay the price of his redemption, and to restore him to liberty.[d] Finally, a man's Goël, or nearest of kin, was at all times, and under every circumstance, expected to defend his cause and to protect his interests.[e]

How wonderfully do these particulars in the character and offices of the Goël correspond with some of the main features in the system of Christian redemption! Having assumed the nature not of angels, but of men, the SON OF GOD has become our near kinsman, our brother, touched with a feeling of our infirmities. He has trodden on the serpent's head, and thus has avenged the moral death of mankind, on him who was their "murderer." In Jesus, the church, desolate and afflicted in herself, has found an all-merciful husband. Man has forfeited his paternal inheritance, but Jesus, our Goël, has repurchased it for us with his blood; and thus are we enabled again to become "heirs of God" and "joint heirs with Christ."[f] We have all sold ourselves to Satan, and have become his willing slaves; but Jesus, has given his life a ransom for us, and has redeemed us from the bondage of the *stranger*. Finally, we are feeble and helpless, and prone to sin, but Jesus is our advocate with the Father. He pleads our cause, maintains our rights, and provides for our eternal security and happiness.

[a] Num. xxxv. [b] Ruth iv, 10. [c] Lev. xxv, 25. [d] Lev. xxv, 47, 48.
[e] Prov. xxiii, 10, 11; Jer. l, 34. [f] Rom. viii, 17.

No. 4.

On the Existence of Christ before Abraham.

JOHN viii, 58. Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, πρὶν Αβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγώ εἰμι.

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am." *Eng. Trans.*

In U. N. V. this passage is rendered, "Before Abraham was born I am (or was) *he*." The reader ought to understand that this version of the New Testament is formed on the basis of that of Archbishop Newcome. In the present instance the editors have Newcome's authority for rendering γενέσθαι "was born," and they differ from that author in adding the pronoun "he." Since the original and proper meaning of γενέσθαι is to come into existence—to be produced—no fair objection can be made to Newcome's version of it, which may be considered an improvement on E. T. So. *Ethiop.* "Pruisquam Abraham nasceretur;"—and *Vulg.* "Antequam Abraham fieret." In illustration, Newcome adduces the words of Plato, πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς ἦν ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχή.[a] "Before we *were born*, our soul existed." Several similar examples from Xenophon and others are given by Raphelius:[b] and this mode of here rendering γενέσθαι is adopted by Erasmus, Wolf, Campbell, and other critics.

[a] *Phæd.* Ed. Forster, 8vo. pp. 202. 207. [b] *Annot. in N. T.* in loc.

In defence of their version of ἐγώ εἰμι—"I am (or was) he"—the editors observe, "The expression ἐγώ εἰμι is uniformly used in the sense of 'I am he,' or 'I am the Christ:' it occurs twice in this discourse.[a] It must therefore, in all reason, be taken in the same sense here, especially as this signification best suits the connexion." Now when the expression ἐγώ εἰμι (I am) does not simply relate to the *existence* of the person speaking, and *is followed by no expressed predicate*, it is evident that some predicate must be understood:[1] and it is true that there are several passages in N. T. in which, on this principle, ἐκεῖνος (denoting the Christ or the Son of God) is properly supplied after ἐγώ εἰμι as a subauditum.[b] These remarks are clearly applicable to the passages of this very discourse which are alluded to by the editors. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πιστεύσητε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, ἀποθανεῖσθε ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν.[c] Ὅταν ὑψώσητε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι.[d] "If ye believe not that I am (he), ye shall die in your sins." "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am (he)." Both these passages relate to the personal character and distinction which Jesus assumed,—not merely as the Messiah, but as the *Son of God*,[e]—and in order to complete their sense, it is obviously necessary to understand some predicate, such as ἐκεῖνος or υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. But in John viii, 58, the case appears to be different; for the passage evidently relates not so much to the personal character and distinction assumed by Jesus, as to the

[a] Ver. 24. 28. [b] Luke xxi, 8; Mark xiii, 6; Acts xiii, 25.
[c] Ver. 24. [d] Ver. 28. [e] *Comp.* vers. 19, 29.

[1] Sometimes ἐγώ εἰμι signifies *it is I*, in which case ἐγὼ is probably the predicate to εἰμί; ἐγὼ the subject being understood. *Vide* Matt. xiv, 27.

fact of his existence at a certain period. "Thou art not yet fifty years old," said the Jews to Jesus, "and hast thou seen Abraham?" "Verily, verily," answers our Saviour, "before Abraham was (or was born) *I am.*" Here we are in no want of a predicate to the expression ἐγώ εἰμι. The sentence is complete without ἐκεῖνος, since the meaning of it rests *on the verb* εἰμὶ *itself.* The assertion of the Jews plainly relates to the length of our Saviour's life; and the answer to that assertion as plainly declares that before Abraham was born, Jesus *existed.*

The necessity of our understanding ἐκεῖνος, or υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, after ἐγώ εἰμι, in verses 24 and 28 of this chapter, and the total absence of that necessity in verse 58, must, I should think, be *equally* clear from the context, to every plain reader of Scripture. Accordingly the distinction is made, *as a matter obvious and in course,* by the generality of translators and commentators, both ancient and modern: amongst others, by Origen,[a] Chrysostom,[b] Theophylact, Luther, Calvin, Beza, Tyndal, Diodati, Vatablus, Hammond, Whitby, Wolf,[c] in the Bishop's Bible of Queen Elizabeth, in E. T.; also by Doddridge, Michaëlis, Newcome, Gill, Rosenmüller, A. Clarke, and Kuinoël.[d]

Although, however, the ἐγώ εἰμι of verse 58 relates to the *existence* of Christ before Abraham, and therefore requires no predicate to explain it, it is evidently an emphatic expression, and connected, as it here stands with πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, is peculiarly adapted to describe the *continuous* and *unalterable* nature of that existence, such as properly appertains to the SON OF GOD—constantem ipsius et immobilem eternita-

[a] *Com. in Joh.* Tom. xix, 6. [b] *Hom.* in loc.
[c] *Curæ Philolog.* in loc. [d] *In libros Hist. N. T.* in loc.

tem, ipsumque esse super omnem temporis differentiam, nec præteritum ipsi esse nec futurum."[a] The use of ἐγώ εἰμι, so interpreted, is strictly analogous to the manner in which the verb εἶναι is applied in the Septuagint, to Jehovah himself. Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν. "I am He *that is.*"[b]—Πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γενηθῆναι καὶ πλασθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ. "Before the mountains were brought forth or the earth and the world were formed, even from everlasting to everlasting *thou art.*"[c]—Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ. "From everlasting *thou art.*"[d] Precisely similar language also is applied, first to "the Almighty," and afterwards to Jesus Christ, in the book of Revelation; ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω,——ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος, "*I am* the Alpha and the Omega; the beginning and the ending."[e]

Here it ought to be observed, that in Hebrew, the unchanging existence of the Divine Being is sometimes emphatically expressed by the addition of the pronoun הוּא (he) to the pronoun אֲנִי (I) without any connecting verb. Thus in Deut. xxxii, 39, we read, רְאוּ עַתָּה כִּי אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא—"Behold now that I I-He:" and in Isa. xliii, 10—וְתָבִינוּ כִּי־אֲנִי הוּא לְפָנַי לֹא־נוֹצַר אֵל "And ye shall understand that I-He: before me was no God found." In both these, and some other similar examples, the words אֲנִי הוּא, "I-He," are, in the Septuagint, rendered, by ἐγώ εἰμι.[f] Although therefore, we have no sufficient reason to suppose that John, as a Greek writer, here understood ἐκεῖνος, or intended that pronoun to be supplied by his readers; yet since

[a] *Com. in Poli Synop.* [b] Exod. iii, 14. [c] Ps. lxxxix, (xc) 2. [d] Ps. xcii, (xciii) 2. *Comp.* Prov. viii, 25; Jer. i, 5. [e] Rev. i, 8; xxii, 13: so Jerom, Cyril Alex. and Theophylact, in loc. [f] *Comp.* Isa. xli, 4; xlvi, 4; xliii, 12.

our Lord's declaration of his existence before Abraham, is evidently emphatical, and indicative of his divine character, (as is imported by the present tense, *εἰμὶ*,) it is not improbable that, on this occasion, he might actually employ the Hebrew phrase אני הוא, I-He, or the corresponding idiom of the vernacular Syriac, אני אני, "I-I"—or אני אנכי "I-myself." The last is the translation of *ἐγώ εἰμι* here adopted in both the Syriac versions.[2]

But whether we adopt the common and literal version of these words, or the version proposed by the editors of U. N. V., where shall we find any reasonable pretext for the opinion expressed by these critics and by Grotius, that when our Saviour said, *Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγώ εἰμι*, he intended only to assert that he was "*designated*" or *foreordained* to the Messiahship? A similar interpretation is applied by the editors to another equally luminous passage,—*Καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σὺ, πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ, ἣ εἶχον, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, παρὰ σοί.* "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which *I had with thee before the world was.*"[a] Here again the editors would persuade their readers, that Jesus did not mean to say that he was truly in possession of glory with the Father, be-

[a] John xvii, 5.

[2] Viz. the *Peshito* and *Philoxenian*. The former is remarkable for its purity and accuracy, and is also highly esteemed by critics, on account of its great antiquity. It is supposed to have been made in the latter part of the first, or early in the second century. It is found in Walton's Polyglott Bible. The Philoxenian version, which is supposed to have been written early in the sixth century, under the auspices of Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, is considered less pure and exact. An excellent edition of it was published by *White; Oxford*, A. D. 1778. See *Michaelis by Marsh, Introd. in N. T.*, ch. vii, sections i—xi.

fore the creation of the world; but only, that before the creation of the world, *it was foreordained that he should possess that glory after his ascension.* It must surely be allowed, by every unsophisticated reader of the Greek Testament, that in neither of these instances do the words of the original countenance such an interpretation. Our Saviour declares in a solemn and decisive manner that he *existed,* (or, if we are to understand ἐκεῖνος, that he *existed as the Son of God,*) before Abraham was born; and again he speaks with equal clearness of the glory which he *had* (or *possessed)* with the Father before the world began. There is nothing to be found in either passage respecting designation, predestination, or the counsels of God; nor can we admit such a gloss, without sacrificing the obvious meaning of expressions which are at once forcible and *simple.*

The commonly received interpretation of these passages is in fact secured, not only by that plainness in the expressions themselves, which repels the contortions of a refined criticism, but by the unquestionable evidence of context;—a remark which we may now proceed to apply to each passage in its order.

In John viii, 58, our Saviour's expressions ought surely to be interpreted, not as a quibble or enigma calculated only to confuse his hearers, but as an emphatic and intelligible answer to the observation made by the Jews, and to the question which they asked him. Now these, as we have already noticed, related not to the *office* of Jesus, but to the number of years during which he had lived.—It was in their view an absurdity to imagine that a man who was not fifty years old, had seen Abraham. To say that before Abraham was born, Jesus was *designated* to the Mes-

siahship, was to give no answer to these cavillers. Such a declaration would have been nothing to the purpose. It would have left the objection of the Jews untouched. But to declare the fact, that before Abraham was born, he, the Son of God, *existed;* and so to declare this truth, as to indicate that he pre-existed in the divine nature, was fully to the point. It was a pertinent, intelligible answer. And how was this answer understood? As an assumption of the attributes of Deity, and therefore as blasphemy against Jehovah:—"Then they took up stones to cast at him."[a] It was the well known dictate of the Mosaic law, that the blasphemer against the name of Jehovah should be stoned to death by all the congregation;[b] and this was notoriously the ground on which the Jews, from time to time, attempted to inflict this punishment on Jesus of Nazareth:—"For a good work we stone thee not," said they, "but for blasphemy; and because that thou being a man makest thyself GOD."[c] The use of the present tense *I am,* in reference to a period which had elapsed nearly two thousand years, does indeed appear to constitute a form of expression applicable only to that changeless Being, "which is, and which was, and which is to come," and whose most sacred name (as it was ever esteemed by the Hebrews) is descriptive of this very attribute of unalterable and eternal existence,—JEHOVAH. Nor is this argument weakened, if we suppose that our Lord here used the Hebrew phrase of אני הוא or אני אני. "Before Abraham was, I-He," says JESUS. "Before the day was, I-He," says JEHOVAH.[d] "I-He, the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last," says

[a] Ver. 59. [b] Lev. xxiv, 16. [c] John x, 33.
[d] Isa. xliii, 13.

JESUS.[a] "I-He, the First, I also the Last," says JEHOVAH.[b]

In John xvii, 4, 5, we read as follows:—"I have glorified thee on the earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, (παρὰ σεαυτῷ) with the glory which I had (ᾗ εἶχον) with thee (παρὰ σοί) before the world was;" (or rather, as in the order of the Greek, "which I had before the world was, with thee.") That the verb εἶχον here expresses an actual *past* possession of glory, and not the bare appointment to a *future* possession of it, is a proposition nearly self-evident. That proposition, however, is elucidated and confirmed by the concluding words, παρὰ σοί. Were nothing intended to be conveyed in this passage, but the *predestination* of the Messiah to his future glory, παρὰ σοί could be interpreted only as signifying *from thee*, i. e. *by thy favour or decree*. On the other hand, if παρὰ σοί, according to a very common use of παρὰ, signifies *apud te*, i. e. *in thy presence*, the sentence can relate only to the glory which Jesus had actually enjoyed, in the presence of his father. Now, that παρὰ σοί here signifies, *in thy presence*, is evinced by the phrase which answers to it, in the corresponding limb of the sentence, viz. παρὰ σεαυτῷ—"glorify me, *with thine own self*." Here παρὰ unquestionably signifies *apud, in the presence of*. For not only would παρὰ σεαυτῷ, with any other sense of παρὰ, be redundant, but every one who examines the context must perceive, that our Lord is here alluding to the doctrine which forms so principal a feature in his immediately preceding discourse—namely, that

[a] Rev. xxii, 13. [b] Isa. xlviii, 12.

on finishing his work on earth, he should *return unto the Father,* and be restored to the glorious presence of Him who had sent him into this lower world.[a] When the Son of God, triumphant over death and the grave, ascended up into heaven, he sat down with the Father —"at the right hand of the Majesty on high." Now we learn from the words of Jesus, in John xvii, 5, that he was in possession of glory, in the *same* presence, "before the world was."

The attempt which has been made, to explain away the force of these important passages of Scripture, is of a merely modern origin. By the writers of the ancient christian church, they appear to have been universally understood in their obvious meaning, as relating to the actual preexistence and divine character of Jesus Christ. "Neither did the Word of God," says Irenæus, "adopt the friendship of Abraham, because of any need of it, for he existed, *perfect,* from the beginning; as he said, Before Abraham was, I AM."[3] "As I have already declared therefore," says Origen, "we worship one God—the Father and the Son—and our objection to the worship of all others continues to be rigid; neither is our exalted adoration of Him who has lately appeared in the world (that is of Christ) addressed to him as to one who had no previous existence, for we believe in his own words, 'Before Abraham was, I am.'"[4] We may gather from these remarks of

[a] See ch. xvi, ver. 16, 28; *comp.* xiii, 3; vi, 62.

[3] "Sed neque Abrahæ amicitiam propter indigentiam assumpsit Verbum Dei, existens ab initio perfectus: *antequam,* enim, *Abraham esset Ego sum,* inquit." *Contra Hær.* iv, 13; *Ed. Ben.* p. 243.

[4] "Ενα οὖν Θεὸν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν, θεραπεύομεν καὶ μένει ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενὴς λόγος· καὶ οὐ τὸν ἔναγχός γε φανέντα ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑπερθρησκεύομεν, αὐτῷ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τῷ εἰπόντι, πρὶν

Origen, that he understood John viii, 58, to be declarative of the divinity, as well as of the preexistence, of Christ. On this point, however, Chrysostom is still more explicit; for he justly observes[5] that the *present* tense *εἰμὶ*, is here used in the place of the past tense *ἤμην*, in order to designate the *unchanging existence* of the Son, as it elsewhere does that of the Father: on which account the Jews regarded the saying as blasphemous.[a]

Equally clear is the testimony borne by the ancient church to the true meaning of John xvii, 5,—a passage which the fathers have frequently cited as declarative of the doctrine, that *the Son of God really existed in glory with the Father before the world was.* "Not only before Adam," says Irenæus,[b] "but *previously to the whole creation,* the Word glorified his Father in whom he was abiding; and he also was glorified by the Father, according to his own words,

[a] See also *Athanasius, Contra Arian.* Orat. iii, v. Ed. Colon. 1686, vol. i, pp. 423, 534.—*Cyril Alex.* in loc. Ed. Lutet. 1638, vol. iv, p. 586.—*Cyril Hieros. Catech. de Fil. Dei Unig.* Ed. Bened. p. 159, *b.*—*Chrysostom, in Matt.* Hom. xvi. Ed. Bened. tom. vii, 204, *d.*—*Hieronymus, ad Paulum et Eutoch. de Ap. B. Mariæ,* tom. ix, 42. *a.*—*Nonnus,* in loc.—*Theophylact,* in loc.

[b] *Contra Hæres.* lib. iv, cap. 14. Ed. Bened. p. 243. So also *Pseudo-Ignatius ad Tarsenses,* vi. *Cotel. Pat. Apost.* tom. ii, 102. —*Origen, Selecta in Psalm.* iv. Ed. Bened. vol. ii, 575. In Matt. tom. xv, tom. iii, 687.—*Novatian. De Reg. Fid.* cap. 11. Ed. Jackson, p. 83, et cap. xiii, p. 96.—*Athanasius contra Arian.* Orat. ii, Ed. Colon. tom. i, p. 345.—*Basil, adv. Eunom.* lib. iv. Ed. Bened. tom. i, p. 292.—*Theophylact,* in loc.

Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγώ εἰμι. *Contra Celsum,* lib. viii, § 12. *Ed. Bened.* tom. i, p. 750;—*comp. Com. in Matt.* tom. iii, p. 833.

[5] Διατί δὲ μὴ εἶπε, πρὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ ἤμην, ἀλλ' ἐγώ εἰμι; ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κέχρηται τῇ λέξει, τῇ εἰμί, οὕτω καὶ αὗτος· τοῦ διηνεκῶς γὰρ εἶναι σημαντικὴ αὕτη πάντος ἀπηλλαγμένη χρόνου. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ βλάσφημον αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ῥῆμα. In loc. Ed. Ben. tom. viii, p. 324.

'Father, glorify thou me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was made.' "[6]

On reviewing the contents of this note the reader will observe,—

That in John viii, 58, the verb γενέσθαι appears to be properly rendered by Newcome and others, "was born"—*nasceretur.*

That there is no sufficient ground for our here understanding ἐκεῖνος after εἰμὶ; since the expression ἐγώ εἰμι, as appears from the context, relates to the *existence* and not to the *office* of Christ.

That this mode of expression, like the Hebrew אני הוא is nevertheless emphatic, and, as connected with πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, plainly indicates *an existence in the divine nature.*

That the notion advanced by the editors of U. N. V. that in this passage, and in John xvii, 5, a mere pre-

[6] The reader will of course understand, that in making extracts from the works of the early fathers in support of any interpretation of passages in the New Testament, I have no intention to plead the authority of these writers as plenary or irresistible. Every man is at liberty to judge for himself, respecting the interpretation of scripture. At the same time it is indisputable, that the judgment of the early fathers respecting the meaning of passages in the New Testament is of great importance; because they were, many of them, men of eminent piety, sound religious principles, and great learning—because they wrote when the original language of the New Testament was a living language—because a great proportion of them used the same language themselves—and because, from their antiquity, they were probably in possession of the earliest traditions respecting the actual meaning of the apostles and evangelists, in those passages of their writings, which are now the subject of controversy. When we find amongst the fathers, an unanimity of sentiment respecting the meaning of any such passages, a strong presumption is for all these reasons afforded, that the interpretation which they have adopted is just. Certainly, it is much more likely to be correct, than the ingenious inventions of those moderns, who are not afraid, in support of some particular theological system, to force the words of Holy Writ from their simple, natural, and most intelligible meaning.

destination is to be understood, is not only without a foundation in the words of the text, but is in both instances at variance with the evidence of context.

And lastly, that in the ancient church, these passages were universally understood in their simple and obvious meaning—as relating to the actual preexistence of the WORD or SON of GOD.

In conclusion it may be remarked, that although the Jews attempted to punish our Lord as a blasphemer, when he thus assumed the character of the *eternal Son*, there is reason to believe that the doctrine of the Son's eternity, was by no means unknown to that people. Some of their early writers appear to have ackowledged that their Messiah existed before the foundation of the world. Thus, in the *Nezach Israel*,[a] we read יהיה משיח מפני תוהו "Messiah existed before Chaos—i. e. before the creation of the world." So also in the *Sohar*,[b] "It is written in Gen. i, 2, The spirit of God moved on the face of the waters. This was the spirit of king Messiah." And again, in the *Bereshith Rabba*,[c] "This spirit of God[d] was the spirit of king Messiah."[e]

[a] Cap. 35, fol. 48, Col. i. [b] In Gen. xlix, 11. 1 fol. 128.—[c] Tom. ii. p. 5. [d] Gen. i. 2. [e] See *Kuinoël in libros hist. N. T.* Joh. p. 86, 87.

No. 5.

On the Existence of Christ when the World was created.

JOHN i, 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος.

"In the beginning was the Word." *Eng. Trans.*

That these expressions declare the existence of Christ, either at the period when the world was created, or before that period, is a point which may safely be considered universally agreed upon amongst biblical critics,—with the exception of that comparatively small class of modern commentators, who have professedly excluded from their creed the doctrine of our Lord's preexistence. These commentators, in order to uphold their own principles, are evidently placed under a necessity either of renouncing the authority of the apostle, or of discovering, for his words, some signification different from that which has been so generally received, and so long established. They accordingly interpret ἐν ἀρχῇ as denoting the commencement, not of the world, but of the gospel dispensation or of the ministry of Christ. Such is the explanation given of these words by Socinus, Slichtingius, and Cappe; and the Editors of U. N. V. paraphrase them as follows, "*From the first;* i. e. *from the commencement of the gospel dispensation or of the ministry of Christ.*"

If then the judgment of these critics is correct, the truth to be learned from the declaration with which the evangelist so solemnly begins his gospel, is no

more than this—*that Jesus Christ existed at the commencement of his own ministry.* It is not perhaps too much to assert that an interpretation which attributes, to the passage before us, a meaning so nugatory in itself, and so unworthy of any sensible writer,—much more of an inspired apostle,—stands *self-condemned.* To examine, however, the critical grounds upon which this interpretation is advanced—the editors inform us, that the sense in which they explain the word ἀρχῇ, is its usual sense in the writings of this evangelist; and a sense not uncommon in other parts of the New Testament. Now it is very true, that the expressions ἐν ἀρχῇ and ἀπ' ἀρχῆς in the New Testament, when relating to any circumstance occurring *after* the incarnation of Christ, sometimes signify the beginning of the gospel dispensation, or of the ministry of Jesus; as in John vi, 64; xv, 27; and Luke i, 2. But it is equally certain, that when these expressions relate to persons or things which were *previous* to the incarnation of Christ,—whether it be in the writings of John, or elsewhere in the New Testament,—they uniformly denote either the period *when the world was created, or time anterior to that period.*[a]

Thus are we brought to the previous question, whether the beginning of the gospel of John relates to our Lord, in his capacity of a man and prophet, or whether it describes him *in his character of a preexistent Being.*

Now, that it describes him in the character of *a preexistent Being,* is manifest, *first,* by the title *Word*—a title familiar to the Jews, at the Christian era, and by which, as we shall afterwards find occasion to shew, they designated a *Person,* whose nature was identified

[a] Matt. xix, 4, 8.—*comp.* Mark x, 6. John viii, 44. 2 Thess. ii, 13. Heb. i, 10. 1 John ii, 13, 14; iii, 8.

with that of God himself, and by whose instrumentality God created and governs the world;[a] and *secondly*, by the context in verse 3; where the apostle himself teaches us, that by that Word, of whom he is speaking, "all things were made," (or "came into existence.")

The same consequence may be satisfactorily deduced from the declaration which concludes the apostle's proëm—namely, that the Word was made (or *became)* flesh (i. e. man) and dwelt amongst us:[b] for the doctrine that our Saviour *became flesh* or *man*, plainly rests on the principle, that *before* he became man, he existed in some different capacity; and the capacity in which he thus preexisted, is represented both in verse 14, and in verse 1, by the title Word—the Word who was in the beginning, with God, and who "*was* God."

It is apparently for the purpose of escaping from these conclusions, that the editors of U. N. V. after the example of Socinus, Slichtingius, and Cappe, forsake the commonly received interpretation of John i, 14, and render the words, καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, "and the word *was* flesh." "Though the first preacher of the gospel," say the editors, (after Cappe) "was honoured with such signal tokens of divine confidence and favour; though he was invested with so high an office, he was *nevertheless* (for so the editors render καὶ) *a mortal man.* The word *flesh*," they go on to observe, "frequently and peculiarly stands for man as mortal, subject to infirmities and sufferings; and *as such* is particularly appropriated to Christ, here and in other places." Again they say, "the most usual meaning of γίνομαι is, *to be*." The first remark which suggests itself upon the interpretation here advanced, is this,—

[a] Vid. *Kuinoël Proleg.* in *Evang. Joh.* [b] Ver. 14.

that if it was so clear a point as the editors appear to imagine, that Jesus Christ was a *mere man*, and that no other character was ascribed to him by those with whom he was contemporary, such a declaration of his mortality (especially after his death had taken place in the most notorious manner) would have been altogether needless. The sense which these writers give to the passage must surely, on their own principles, be deemed in no slight degree jejune and unprofitable. But, secondly, this interpretation is evidently precluded by the context. *Though the Word was possessed of such exalted characters and offices,* say the Unitarian critics, *he was nevertheless a mortal man; subject to all the infirmities and sufferings of humanity,—and,* says the apostle in immediate connexion with the expressions which are thus explained, *(he) dwelt amongst us, and we beheld his glory, as the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.* Between the two clauses of a single sentence—a sentence which plainly relates in all its parts to one and the same doctrine—there is thus produced, if not an actual contradiction, at least a harsh and unnatural dissonance.

On the other hand the critical reasons for our accepting the commonly received interpretation of this passage, as descriptive of the doctrine, that the Word *became man*, are at once strong and perspicuous. I shall endeavour to state them as succinctly as possible.

1. This explanation of the passage is supported by the most probable meaning, both of the verb ἐγένετο, and of the noun σὰρξ. It is not true that "the most *usual* sense of γίνομαι is, *to be.*" Such indeed is the meaning which that verb sometimes adopts, especially in the writings of Luke:[a] but its proper sense is, *to be*

[a] Luke vi, 36; xiii, 2, 4. &c.

brought into existence, to be produced, to become. On an examination of Schleusner's detailed article on this word, it will be found that almost all its derivative uses have originated in the notion of *being produced* or of *becoming;* and not in that of *simple being.* As relating to persons, it *usually* implies, when without a predicate, a change from non-existence to existence; and when with a predicate, a change from one condition of existence to another. Such certainly is the meaning in which this verb is, with reference to persons, *most commonly* employed by the apostle John; as in the following phrases: πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, "before Abraham *was born*,"[a] ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο, "he became whole,"[b] ἐλεύθεροι γενήσεσθε, "ye shall become free,"[c] ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται, "should become excommunicated,"[d] τυφλοὶ γένωνται, "should become blind."[e] Observe more particularly ch. i, 12,—a passage immediately connected with that now under consideration, in which the apostle declares, that to as many as received him, Christ gave the power τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι, "to *become* the sons of God." With respect to the noun σὰρξ, although, as applied to men, it may sometimes carry with it the connotation of infirmity and mortality, it commonly conveys no other idea than that of *human nature*, and appears to be employed in precisely the same sense as the word ἄνθρωπος, as in Matt. xxiv, 22, Mark xiii, 20, John xvii, 2, Rom. iii, 20; and also in various passages of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.[f]

2. That very context which falsifies the explanation of the apostle's words proposed in U. N. V. confirms the commonly received version of those words. "The Word was made (or became) flesh, and," adds

[a] viii, 58. [b] v, 4. [c] viii, 33. [d] ix, 22. [e] ix, 39.
[f] Isa. xl, 5; lxvi, 23, 24. Jer. xii, 12. Ezek. xx, 48.

the apostle, "*dwelt amongst us,* and we *beheld* his glory, as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." To the plain reader of scripture, it can scarcely fail to be obvious, that the different parts of this sentence explain and illustrate one another, and that the whole presents a connected statement of a particular fact, and of the consequences by which it was followed. The Word—the Only-begotten Son who was in the bosom of the Father, condescended to take our nature upon him, and to become *man.* Having become man, *he dwelt on earth amongst his people,* and then did they *behold* his glory. He who before, except on some particular occasions, had existed as an invisible Spirit, became an object of vision. In consequence of his incarnation, his disciples were actual *spectators* of his personal glory and wonderful works. Cappe, in order to avoid that dissonance to which we have alluded above, translates the former and the latter of this verse, as if they were in *opposition* to one another, and having taken the strange liberty of rendering the first *καὶ* in the sentence "nevertheless," he takes a similar liberty with the second *καὶ*, and renders it "yet:" "*nevertheless* the Word was flesh, *yet,* full of grace and truth he tabernacled amongst us," &c.; but who does not perceive that the two parts of the verse, so far from being opposed to one another, are inseparably conjoined, not only by the copulative *καὶ*, but by a complete and evident harmony of meaning?

3. The commonly received interpretation of this verse is supported by a variety of other passages in the New Testament. Between the declaration that *the Word became flesh,* and the doctrine so often taught in this same gospel that the Son of God came *forth* from

the Father, *down* from heaven and *into* the world, there is a clear and substantial accordance. The incarnation itself is declared in very plain terms by the apostle Paul, who says of our Saviour, that "he was *manifest* (or *manifested*) *in the flesh*."[a] In the epistle to the Hebrews we learn that the Son of God, having undertaken the redemption of men, *took part of flesh and blood*,[b] and that when he offered to come into the world to do the will of the Father, *God prepared for him a body*.[c] More particularly in the first epistle of John himself, we find very plain allusions to the same doctrine. "Every spirit," says the apostle, "that confesseth that Jesus Christ *is come in the flesh* (ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα) is of God."[d] Dr. Priestley would persuade us that these expressions denote only that Jesus *was a real man*;[e] but the declaration that Christ *was or had come in the flesh*, obviously implies that he previously existed in some different character. Again, in the commencement of this epistle, the Son of God is described as the Life, the word of Life, the eternal Life, which was with the Father; and we learn from the apostle that this Life was *so* manifested, as to be *heard, seen, and handled*.[f] What is this but the doctrine of the incarnation?[g]

4. In favour of the received interpretation of John i, 14, we have, lastly, the decisive, and frequently expressed, judgment of the early christian writers. Justin Martyr, who was born very shortly after the death of the apostle, has probably alluded to this passage; and if so, has recorded his judgment respecting its true meaning, in the following words;—ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις μετὰ τὸν πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότην Θεὸν, καὶ υἱὸς, ὁ

[a] 1 Tim. iii, 16. [b] ii, 14. [c] x, 5. [d] iv, 2. [e] In loc.
[f] i, 1, 2. [g] See *Poli Syn. Gill, and Rosenmüller*, in loc.

Λόγος ἐστὶν, ὃς τίνα τρόπον σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἐροῦμεν. "But the first Power (even the Son,) after the Father and Lord of all, is the Word; and in what manner *being made flesh, he became man,* we shall presently explain."[a] It may fairly be presumed, that Justin has here stated the doctrine of the incarnation, as it was received and understood by the earliest Christians; and even if we suppose that he intended no allusion to John i, 14, it is improbable that such plainly similar terms should, with reference to the same subject, be employed in different senses, by the apostle and by the father. Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Tertullian, who wrote during the second century, and Origen, whose date was not much later, have all quoted this passage, in the sense commonly ascribed to it—that is to say, as conveying the doctrine, that the Word, who had preexisted, *became flesh or man.*[b] From the works of later fathers, similar citations might be produced in abundance.

To conclude, it appears that the commonly received interpretation of John i, 14, is supported by the most usual meaning of its principal words,—by a perspicuous context,—by the contents of similar passages in the New Testament, and more especially in the works of the same writer,—and by the clear judgment of those persons who had the best opportunity of forming a correct estimate of the apostle's meaning. In other words, that interpretation is supported by all the principal critical evidences of which the subject is capable. From

[a] *Apol.* 1. Ed. Ben. p. 63; so also p. 57. [b] *Orig. cont. Cel.* vii, Ed. Ben. i, 684, and 725. *In Jerem.* Hom. 9, iii, 176. *Irenæus contra Hær.* lib. III, cap. xvi, § 2. Ed. Ben. 204, 205. *Tertull. adv. Prax.* Ed. Seml. ii, 224. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. v, Ed. Ben. 654.

our premises then, it follows, that the Word *became* man,—that he who became man, was the Word,—that he was the Word *before* he became man,—and that he who thus existed, in a distinct character, before his incarnation, was "in the beginning" not of his own ministry only, but of all things,—in *that* "beginning," when God created the heaven and the earth.

No. 6.

On the Eternal Preexistence of Christ.

Mic. v, 1—3. וְאַתָּה בֵּית־לֶחֶם אֶפְרָתָה צָעִיר לִהְיוֹת בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּמוֹצָאֹתָיו מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם׃

"*But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.* Therefore will he give them up, until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth:[a] then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel. And he shall stand and feed in the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of the Lord his God; and they shall abide: for now shall he be great unto the ends of the earth." *Eng. Trans.*

The relation of this prophecy to the Messiah, which appears so clearly from its internal evidences, and from its close analogy to the other evangelical prophecies of the Old Testament, is confirmed by the general consent of the early Jews. Their opinion on the subject was declared on two separate occasions, during the life of our Saviour;[b] and the passage is explained as prophetical of the Messiah, by the Targumist, Jarchi, Kimchi, Abarbanel, and other Jewish commentators.[c] Grotius, in pursuance of that extraor-

[a] *Comp.* Isa. vii, 14; ix, 6. [b] Matt. ii, 6; John vii, 42.
[c] *Gill*, in loc.

dinary system of interpretation which distinguishes his commentary upon the Hebrew prophets, applies this prediction to Zerubbabel;—an application which cannot be allowed, because, according to every probability, Zerubbabel was born, not at Bethlehem, but in Chaldea. If indeed any temporal ruler was in any respect the subject of the prophecy, it must have been on the principle, that this, like some others of the evangelical predictions, has a *minor* as well as a *major* signification. In some lower and subordinate sense, it is not impossible, that the words of Micah may partially relate to some one of the Jewish princes. Such however is the suitability of this prediction to the character and circumstances of the Son of God, and such its accordance with other acknowledged prophecies respecting his kingdom, that in its principal and ultimate meaning it can reasonably be applied (as is freely allowed by almost all christian commentators) *only* to Jesus Christ—to that divine Ruler, who *stands and feeds* his flock "in the *majesty of the name of the Lord his God*," whose spiritual dominion extends to the very "*ends of the earth*"—whom God hath exalted "to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins."[a] [1]

[a] Acts v, 31.

[1] In verses 5—7, the prophecy is continued as follows: "And this [man] shall be the peace, when the Assyrian shall come into our land: and when he shall tread in our palaces, then shall we raise against him seven shepherds, and eight principal men. And they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof: thus shall he deliver us from the Assyrian, when he cometh into our land, and when he treadeth within our borders. And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men." The prophecies respecting the coming of the Messiah are often intermingled in Scripture with promises of the deliverance of the Jews

Having premised these observations, we may proceed to examine more particularly the import of those remarkable expressions,—מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּמוֹצָאֹתָיו מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם: "*Out of thee shall he come forth* (or *go forth*) *unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.*"

The common English version of the passage is on the whole literal and accurate, and nearly agrees with most of the ancient versions of the prophet's words. These versions are as follows:

The Septuagint—ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἔξοδοι αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος. "Out of thee shall he come forth unto me to be ruler of Israel; and his goings forth have been from the beginning, from the days of eternity."

The Syriac—"From thee shall go forth the Prince, who shall be (or preside) over Israel; and his going forth has been from the beginning, from the days of eternity."

The Arabic, as rendered by Walton—"Quandoqui-

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from their natural enemies; and especially from the Assyrians. Such is one of the distinguishing features of the predictions contained in Isa. viii, ix, xi, xlii, &c. The passage now cited, however, by no means necessarily indicates that the prophecy of Micah subordinately relates to any temporal deliverer, such as Hezekiah or Zerubbabel; because He whom God had appointed to become incarnate at Bethlehem, as the Messiah, was the very Person, who, in his *divine character*, delivered the ancient Israelites out of the hands of their enemies. Thus Isaiah after predicting the birth of the Messiah, whose name was to be called "Immanuel—God with us," again mentions this divine person as the *Owner* of Israel, and as her *Deliverer* from the power of Assyria: *Comp.* Isa. vii, 14, with viii, 8, 10. In a larger and more spiritual sense, the Assyrians may here denote, *all the enemies of God and of his church.* The declaration that the remnant of Jacob should become, in the midst of the people, as a dew upon the earth, was remarkably fulfilled when the apostles of Jesus Christ, themselves Jews, were made instrumental in diffusing the vivifying principles of divine truth, through the Gentile world.

dem ex te egressurus mihi est, qui princeps erit in Israele, cujus egressus in Israele sunt ab æternis diebus."

Lastly, the Vulgate—"Ex te mihi egredietur qui sit Dominator in Israel, et egressus ejus ab initio, a diebus æternitatis."

It will be allowed, that, according to their most obvious interpretation, these expressions denote the eternal preexistence of the Son of God, and it is a highly satisfactory circumstance that the generality of commentators unite in explaining the passage as declarative of that doctrine. Such I observe to be the explanation given by Theodoret, Chrysostom, Jerom—Vatablus, Tarnovius, Drusius, Calovius, Clarius, Castalio, (in *Critici Sacri)*—Lowth, Gill, Rosenmüller.

Two other interpretations of the prophet's words have however been proposed, which, if correct, would annihilate their evidence in relation to Christ preexistent. The first is suggested by Calvin, whose commentaries on Holy Writ are often admirable, but who in the present instance, appears somewhat absurdly to have yielded up his own judgment to the supposed opinion of the Jews. "Scio quosdam insistere pertinacius," says this author, "quod hic loquatur propheta de æternâ essentiâ Christi, *et quantum ad me spectat libenter agnosco hic probari nobis Christi divinitatem; sed quia hoc nunquam extorquebitur a Judæis,* malo simpliciter accipere quod sonant prophetæ verba, Christum non ita repente prodituram ex Bethlehem, *quasi de eo nihil Deus olim statuisset.*" It appears then that Calvin, in compliance with the prejudices of the Jews, explains the words of Micah (in what he denominates their *simple* sense) as importing, that the going forth of Christ, or his manifestation in the flesh at Bethlehem, was *decreed from everlasting.*

There appear to be strong reasons for our not accepting such an interpretation. In *the first place*, the noun, מוֹצָאוֹתָיו, is plural, and does not seem to be correctly applicable to that single going forth of Christ, which took place at Bethlehem. *Secondly*, it is not true that Calvin's version represents the *simple* sense of the Hebrew original, which plainly declares that the "goings forth" of Christ, were "from of old, from everlasting." Like the passages of the New Testament which form the subject of No. 4, this prophecy contains no expression whatever indicating preordination or divine decrees. *Lastly*, it is of importance to observe that the words under discussion are precisely those which contain the *description* of the Person to whom the prophecy relates—the description by which he is *distinguished* and *characterized*. Now that preordination to office which Calvin, after the Jews, imagines to be here declared, affords no distinguishing mark of the Messiah; for we may presume that it might with equal propriety have been predicated of any other king, prophet, or priest in Israel. On the contrary, *eternal preexistence* was one of those peculiar and divine attributes, which distinguished the Messiah from every other Potentate, who ever arose to rule over Israel.

It is evident that there is a close analogy between this passage, and some of the principal evangelical prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The plan or genius of these predictions appears to have been this—that the point immediately foretold, should be the coming of the Messiah into the world, through the means of his human birth and filiation, and that the person, thus to become incarnate should then be *characterized* by some allusion to his divinity. Thus

Isaiah, after predicting the miraculous conception and birth of Christ, adds a definition of his nature and dignity—"and (she) shall call his name, *God with us.*"[a] Again, "unto us a child is born ..... and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, *the Mighty God,* &c."[b] In like manner, Jeremiah first foretells the raising up of a King and Saviour in the family of David, and then proceeds to inform us by what peculiarity he was to be distinguished—"and this is his name, whereby he shall be called, *Jehovah our Righteousness.*"[c] In all these passages, to be called by a certain name (as we shall hereafter find occasion to observe) appears to signify nothing more than to bear the distinction of a certain character. Now it appears to be on the same *principle* of prophecy, that Micah, after predicting the coming forth of the Ruler of Israel from Bethlehem, *characterizes* him by a reference to his unchanging deity,—"whose goings forth have been from of old, from the days of eternity."[2]

[a] Isa. vii, 14. [b] Isa. ix, 6. [c] Isa. xxiii, 5, 6.

[2] The Targum of Mic. v, 2, is as follows: Ex te coram me prodibit Messias, ut sit dominium exercens in Israel, *cujus nomen dictum est ab æternitate a diebus seculi.*" In accordance with the Targum, Solomon Jarchi explains the prophet's words by comparing them with Ps. lxxii, 17—a passage which he interprets as importing that *the name of the Messiah was produced* (or according to Dr. Gill, that the name of the Messiah was '*the Son*') before the sun was formed. R. Eliezer also, produces Mic. v, 2, as well as Ps. lxxii, 17, in proof of the doctrine that the *name* of the Messiah *was before the creation of the world.* (See *Gill* in loc.) Since the word *name* in the Hebrew language is very comprehensive, often denoting *attributes, character, power,* or *glory,* it is by no means very improbable, that when these Jewish writers thus spoke of the existence or production of the *name* of the Messiah before the creation, they intended to imply, not merely that he was foreordained to his office, but that he actually existed, and was in possession of distinct attributes, before the world was. These observations are elucidated, and in some measure confirmed, by some remarkable expressions in the apocryphal book of Enoch, an Ethiopic version

Another explanation of this prophecy, which tends to destroy its efficacy as an evidence of our Lord's preexistence, is that proposed by Grotius, who, in order to adapt the prophecy to Zerubbabel, is placed under the necessity of forsaking the commonly received sense of the prophet's words. He accordingly translates and paraphrases them as follows—"Origo ipsi ab olim, a temporibus longis; *id est, originem trahit a domo illustri antiquitus et per quingentos annos regnatrice.*" It is somewhat surprising that Michaelis, who was decidedly of the opinion, that this prophecy relates to the Messiah, should have adopted a similar interpretation. His German translation of the passage may be rendered as follows: "Out of thee shall one go forth unto me, who shall be a ruler in Israel, whose family has already been renowned in the oldest times;" and his note on the last clause of the verse

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of which was discovered by Bruce, in Abyssinia, and has been translated into English, and published by Dr. Lawrence, of Oxford, now Archbishop of Cashel. The book of Enoch is quoted by Origen and other early fathers. It is clearly of Jewish origin; Dr. Lawrence endeavours to prove, that this was the book which the apostle Jude quoted, and that it was composed shortly before the coming of Christ. In that case, it must be regarded as an important source of information respecting the theological opinions of the Jews at that early date. If, on the contrary, the book of Enoch is, as other learned men suppose, the work of some Christian Jew, in the second century after Christ, the following passage may at least serve to illustrate the Jewish doctrine of the existence of the Messiah's *name*, before the creation of the universe—"*Before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were formed, his* NAME *was invoked in the presence of the Lord of Spirits..... All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him, shall bless and glorify him, and sing praises to him in the name of the Lord of Spirits. Therefore the Elect and the Concealed one existed in his (the Lord's) presence, before the world was created, and FOR EVER.*" (ch. xlviii, 3, 4, 5. *Lawrence*, p. 49.)

is,—"one of the old renowned family of David." Now it is evident that such an explanation cannot be adopted without a wide departure from the plain and apparent meaning of the original, which does not contain the slightest hint respecting an illustrious descent or a royal stem. Had it been enjoined on the prophet to declare, in this passage, the descent of the Messiah, according to the flesh, from the family of David, it is scarcely conceivable that he would have so expressed himself, as to omit any intelligible reference to the subject—a subject on which there exist so many other prophecies, and respecting which there could be no occasion for reserve.

The true meaning of מוֹצָאָה (which, with the exception of 2 Kings x, 27—a passage of doubtful reading—occurs only in the present example,) can be ascertained only by a reference to the root יָצָא from which it is so plainly derived. This root, of extremely common occurrence, denotes in its general sense *egressus est*, and since, in a few instances, it more particularly describes the *issuing* of persons from particular families or tribes, it must be confessed that its derivative substantive מוֹצָאָה is capable of signifying *extraction* or *filiation*.[3] But it is obvious, that in the example now before us, the meaning of the substantive must be determined by that of the verb, as it is *here* used; for in this passage, the root and its derivative occur in connection. "But thou Bethlehem Ephratah ..... out of thee (מִמְּךָ) shall he *come* (or *go*) *forth* (יֵצֵא) unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel, whose *goings forth*

[3] Thus it is said of the Messiah, in reference to his natural birth, that "he shall *come forth* (יֵצֵא) out of the stem of Jesse," (Isaiah xi, 1); and of the *Zareathites*, that they *came forth*, or *sprang* (יָצְאוּ) from the Mishraites: (1 Chron. ii, 53: *comp.* Job xiv, 2, &c.)

(מוֹצָאֹתָיו) have been from of old, &c." Now there is no reason to suppose that יָצָא, in this passage, has any reference to the springing forth of the person spoken of, from a particular stock; for whenever the root יָצָא has this meaning, the preposition מ (from,) which follows it, is placed before the name of the father, mother, or family, and not before that of *the birth place.* Besides, had the extraction of the *individual,* from the *family,* been here intended, it is scarcely probable that the substantive would have been placed in the *plural.* On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that מוֹצָאוֹת, in this passage, does not denote descent or filiation, but must be interpreted in accordance with the more general sense of its root, and rendered as in the English Translation, "*goings forth.*"

Were we, however, to allow that Grotius is correct in his interpretation of this substantive, there would still remain an almost insuperable objection to his version and paraphrase, viz. that they depend on the *supply* or *understanding* of words, which are too obviously essential to the supposed meaning, not to have been *expressed,* had that meaning been the real one. In order to represent with any degree of clearness the signification on which he insists, it might have been expected that the Hebrew text would have run as follows: וּמוֹצָאֹתָיו (מִבֵּית אֲשֶׁר) מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם "whose extraction is (from a family which was) from of old, &c." I conceive that there is nothing in the context, nothing in the general scope of the prophecy, nothing (as far as appears) in any similar passage of Scripture, which either requires or justifies this *subauditum.*

On the whole, the impartial student of Scripture will readily perceive that neither the interpretation of Cal-

vin, who explains this passage of eternal preordination, nor that of Grotius, which points to nothing more than a descent from an ancient family, is fairly admissible. On these grounds, therefore, nothing remains for us but to allow, that according to the declaration of this prophecy, "the goings forth" of the Messiah *(himself)* have been "from of old, from everlasting."

The "goings forth" of the Messiah are understood by many critics to denote his Sonship in the divine nature, or in other words, his eternal procession from the Father, the plural form of the substantive being accounted for on the principle that this procession is continuous and infinite. But I would suggest that the "goings forth" here alluded to as having been from of old, from everlasting, are rather to be explained (on the critical principle already stated) as of the same general nature or character with that particular "going forth" which took place at Bethlehem. "But thou, Bethlehem, &c. out of thee shall he *go forth* unto me, whose *goings forth* have been from of old, &c." Now, on that momentous occasion, the Word which was with the Father, went forth and was manifested. His power was exerted and his glory unfolded.[3] It appears probable, therefore, that מוֹצָאֹתָיו may be rightly interpreted, as denoting the manifestations of the Son of God, or his "displays of power."[4]

The Arabic translator explains the word in question, of the goings forth of the Messiah, *in Israel,* by which he might probably intend to express the appearances of the Son of God to the ancient Israelites, before his incarnation. But the *goings forth* of the Holy One of Israel have not been confined to a single people,

[3] 1 John i, 1; John i, 14.

[4] So *Archbishop Newcome,* in loc.

or to any period of time: inasmuch as he is the Wisdom and the Power of God, they are *universal—infinite—eternal.*

The question, however, remains to be considered, whether a vast antiquity only, or a real anterior eternity, is intended by the words מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם. That the latter is the truth appears to be evinced with sufficient clearness by the following considerations.

First. The words קֶדֶם and עוֹלָם, the former of which sometimes denotes a mere antiquity, and the latter (from עָלַם *occultavit)* an indefinitely long period, *also* signify an absolute and true eternity—a sense which attaches to קֶדֶם not unfrequently, and to עוֹלָם in a multitude of passages.[a]

Secondly. These words denote periods of time, *only* when they relate to those persons or things which are, in their nature, temporal. When on the contrary they apply to that which is, in its nature, infinite—for example, to God and his attributes—they uniformly express an actual eternity. That this is their meaning in the present instance, may be deduced from their relation to the Messiah in *his preexistence;* for without our here assuming the Deity of Jesus Christ, it is plain that his preexistence was in a spiritual nature; and to this, his spiritual being, it does not appear that the Scriptures any where attach either a beginning or an end.

Thirdly. These words are the more clearly expressive of eternity because they are used in combination with each other. There is no term in the Hebrew language which always and necessarily expresses an absolute eternity. In order, therefore, to confirm the force of those words by which eternity is often de-

[a] *Taylor's Conc.* in voc.

noted, the Hebrews were accustomed to add them one to another, as in the very common expression לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד, or the rarer one, לָעַד וְעוֹלָם—expressions which almost universally denote a real eternity. The addition of עוֹלָם to קֶדֶם may fairly be regarded as having a similar force, and thus the phrase מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם translated in *Eng. Trans.* "from of old, from everlasting," might, with equal propriety, be rendered "*from ever and ever.*"

On a reference to the leading points adverted to in the present note, it appears,

That, although the prophecy now under consideration may possibly contain some partial and subordinate allusion to one of the Israelitish temporal princes, yet the general opinion of the Jews, both ancient and modern, the comparison with other evangelical prophecies, and the internal structure of the prediction itself, combine in proving that its principal application was only *to the Messiah.*

That the address to Bethlehem Ephratah, in verse 2, obviously imports his *actual preexistence.*

That the attempts which have been made to explain the passage, so as to avoid this doctrine—i. e. as relating to a mere preordination, or to the antiquity of the Messiah's family—appear, on examination, to rest on an unsound basis.

Lastly. That the "goings forth" of Christ may probably signify the manifestations or exertions of his power; and that the words which follow, (as is evinced by certain critical considerations,) most probably indicate that these "goings forth" have been, in the fullest sense of the word, *from eternity.*

In order to elucidate and confirm the doctrine of the eternal preexistence of Christ, it may now be desirable briefly to consider two remarkable passages in the Revelation. John commences that book with a salutation of grace and peace from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come; i. e. the Father; and from the Seven Spirits which are before his throne; i. e. (I presume) the one perfect Spirit,[6] and from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, &c."[a] After the salutation, follows an ascription of glory to the Redeemer, and a short prophecy respecting his second coming;[b] and then, before the commencement of the narrative, we read—"I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." *Eng. Trans.* Or according to Griesbach's text, "I am Alpha and Omega, saith the Lord *God*, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."[7] Since the description "which is, and which was, and which is to come," is the same as that by which, almost immediately before, the Father is characterized, and distinguished from the Spirit and the Son, it must I think be allowed, (especially if Griesbach's text be

[a] Rev. i, 4, 5. [b] v, 5, 6, 7.

6 Since, under the law, the seventh day and the seventh year were Sabbaths, and completed respectively the week of days and the week of years, the Jews were induced to attach the notion of peculiar excellence and indeed of perfection, to the number *seven*. See *Schoetgen. Hor. Heb.* in loc. and *Gill* in loc.

7 The alteration made in this text by Griesbach, viz. the omission of the clause ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, and the insertion of the word Θεὸς, after Κύριος, appears to rest upon ample authority. On nearly the same authority, a very similar sentence in verse 11, is altogether excluded from the text, by that critic.

taken for our guide) that these are the words of God, even the Father. Hence it follows, that the terms, "I am Alpha and Omega," are unquestionably descriptive of some attribute of deity.

Schoetgeen has illustrated these terms by comparing them with a common Rabbinical expression, "from Aleph to Tau," (i. e. from the first to the last letter of the alphabet,) by which the Jews were accustomed to denote completeness or perfection—"the whole of anything from beginning to end." Thus they tell us that Adam transgressed the *whole* law, from *Aleph* even to *Tau*[a]—that Abraham, on the contrary, observed the law, from *Aleph* even to *Tau*, and worshipped the Lord with his *whole* heart, from *Aleph* even to *Tau*.[b] Again they say, that God blessed Israel, from *Aleph* even to *Tau*; i. e. perfectly, with a blessing which comprehended *every thing*.[c] In the present instance this expression of *completeness* or *perfection* evidently alludes to duration, as appears from its elucidating context, "which is, and which was, and which is to come;" and must I conceive be interpreted as denoting the *eternity of the Godhead*. "I am Alpha and Omega"—i. e. "I comprehend *all time* in myself—I am from eternity to eternity."[8]

Now in the closing paragraph of the Apocalypse, the same expression is adopted; together with an explanatory addition, no less indicative of unchanging *duration*, than the phrase, "which is, and which was, and which is to come:" and *by whom?* Distinctly, by our Lord Jesus Christ.—"And behold I come

[a] *Yalkut Rubeni*, fol. 17, 4. [b] *Ibid.* fol. 48, 4. [c] *Ibid.* fol. 128, 3; Vid. *Horæ Hebraicæ*, in loc.

[8] So *Rosenmüller, Gill, A Clarke, and others:* Vid. *Schleusn. Lex.* in voc. *Alpha.*

quickly, and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. I am ALPHA and OMEGA, the BEGINNING and the END, the FIRST and the LAST . . . . . I JESUS have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches, &c."[a] With this memorable saying, we may compare the words of the Almighty, not only in the exordium of this book, but in the inspired language of Hebrew prophecy—"I JEHOVAH, the FIRST and with the LAST; I am He."[b] "Thus saith JEHOVAH, the King of Israel, and his Redeemer, Jehovah of hosts, I am the FIRST and I am the LAST; and beside me there is no God."[c] Thus are the eternity of *Jehovah*, and the eternity of *Jesus* represented by the sacred writers in the same emphatic terms. On the whole, it appears to be the clear doctrine of Scripture, that the Son as well as the Father is "from of old, from everlasting" —that he is *perfect* with respect to duration—that there was none before him, and will be none after him—that he comprehends in his personal existence, the *whole of time*; or, in other words, both an anterior and a future ETERNITY. From these premises it is an inevitable consequence, that he is truly GOD.[9]

[a] Chap. xxii, 13—16. [b] Isa. xli, 4. [c] Isa. xliv, 6: *comp.* xlviii, 12.

[9] Here it ought to be noticed, that there is a third passage in the Apocalypse, in which the *eternity* of the Speaker is indicated by the same phraseology, as in ch. i, 8, xxii, 13, and in which at the same time He expressly declares his own divinity—"And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and shall be their God; . . . . . and he that *sat upon the throne* said, Behold I make all things new. *And he said unto me, Write*, for these words are true and faithful. *And he said unto me*, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that over-

cometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his GOD, and he shall be my Son: but the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death:" ch. xxi, 3—8.

From the comparison of ch. xx, 12—15, where the Son of God, the Judge of mankind, is described as sitting on a great white throne; and of ch. xxii, 12—17, where He describes himself in nearly similar terms, and pronounces the same promises and the same threats; and more especially from the consideration, that throughout the Apocalypse, the Son and not the Father communicates with the apostle, and commissions him to write; the conclusion is almost necessarily derived, that it is Jesus Christ who speaks in this passage, and who declares, first, his *eternity*, and next, his *deity*.

It is worthy of remark, that the coins of some of the Greek Emperors who reigned during the continuance of the Arian controversy, are inscribed with A and Ω as an indication of their faith in the divinity of our Saviour. See *Dr. Walsh's Essay on Christian Coins, &c.* p. 100.

No. 7.

On Christ preexistent, in the form of God, and on an equality with God.

Phil. ii, 5—9. Τοῦτο γὰρ φρονείσθω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα. "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being (or subsisting) in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal (or on an equality) with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men (or—but reduced himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men): and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, &c." *Eng. Trans.*

"Is qui cum in imagine Dei esset, non rapinam (חטופיא) arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo; sed seipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, &c." *Syr. Peshito.*

"Qui cum in imagine Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo: sed semet ipsum exinanivit, et similitudinem servi accepit, &c." *Vulgate.*

"For let this mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus also; who being in the form of God *did not eagerly grasp at the resemblance to God;* but divested himself of it, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, &c." *U. N. V.*

———"who being in the form of God did not covet to be honoured as God, but divested himself," &c. *Dr. Sam. Clarke.*[a]

In this interesting and important passage of scripture, there are several particulars which have been the subject of critical discussion.

I. "Ος ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. "Who being (or subsisting) in the form of God." The editors of U. N. V., after Lindsey, interpret these expressions as denoting only, that Jesus Christ "was invested with extraordinary divine powers." By "divine powers" the Editors, who openly deny that our adorable Redeemer was any thing more than a man, obviously signify those powers only, which he was enabled to exercise, in his character of an inspired and divinely commissioned prophet. Now, to the plain reader of Scripture it will doubtless appear incredible that any mere man or prophet, invested with miraculous powers, should on that account be described by the apostle as "subsisting in the form of God."

This remark is amply confirmed by a critical consideration of the terms here employed; for, in the first place, the participle ὑπάρχων denotes a *substantial* or *natural* existence; and secondly, the word μορφὴ, as the learned Hammond observes, cannot be rightly interpreted of the mere picture or representation of a thing. It denotes, either the figure and appearance, or else the nature, of the *thing itself.* The former is the sense which μορφὴ adopts in Mark xvi, 12, (the only

[a] *Scrip. Doctr. Trin.* 3rd Ed. p. 178.

passage of the New Testament, in which it is elsewhere used); and also in the few passages of the Septuagint version, and Apocrypha,[1] which contain the word. If μορφὴ, in the passage before us, have this sense, the declaration that Christ subsisted in the form of God, must be explained as denoting, that Christ *possessed and displayed the characteristic attributes of the Deity.* This explanation of the terms is adopted by Dr. Pye Smith,[a] and very well agrees with the context.

The participle ὑπάρχων, however, with which μορφὴ is here connected, appears to indicate that μορφὴ θεοῦ signifies that in which Christ actually subsisted—that which constituted his being—not merely the outward and perceptible character, but the *essential nature*, of God. For such a version of μορφὴ we are in possession of abundant authority. It was an axiom of ancient Grecian philosophy, that the φύσις or οὐσία, the *nature* or *being* of a thing, consisted of two parts; first its ὕλη (substance) and secondly its μορφὴ or εἶδος (form): and that the latter was its end or perfection—τέλος, ἐντελέχεια.[b] Phavorinus, a celebrated Greek Lexicographer, (A. D. circa 1500) explains μορφὴ by τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὄν, καὶ κοινωνίας ἑτέρου εἰς τὸ εἶναι οὐ δεόμενον, "that which has a being of itself, and, in order to be, needs not the assistance of another;"—and again he says μορφὴ κυρίως ἡ οὐσία, i. e. "μορφὴ properly signifies essence." In support of the interpretation of μορφὴ, thus given by Phavorinus, Dr. Hammond quotes Æschylus, who says of

[a] *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, vol. ii, 394. [b] *Aristot. Natural. Auscult.* lib. iii, cap. 8; Ed. Paris, 1629, tom. i, p. 337. *De Anima*, lib. ii, cap. 1. tom. i, p. 630.

1 *Trommii Conc.* See particularly Isa. xliv, 13, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ὡς μορφὴν ἀνδρὸς:—he made it (the idol) *like* the form of a man. Had μορφὴ here signified a mere resemblance, the word ὡς "like" would have been redundant.

Θέμις and Γάια, that they are πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία, i. e. "one form or nature under different names."[a] Erasmus renders ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ, "in *natura* Dei." Schleusner, in his Lexicon N.T., states that μορφὴ here signifies "ipsa *natura et essentia*," which version he confirms by a quotation from Plato, who says of the gods, ἕκασος αὐτῶν μένει ἀεὶ ἁπλῶς ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ μορφῇ, "every one of them for ever simply continues in his own nature."[b] Ovid makes a similar use of the Latin word *forma*, and puts "the form of the gods" for the gods themselves—"Astra tenent cœleste solum, formæque Deorum."[c] So Josephus says that "God is made manifest by his works and blessings, but that as to his *nature and majesty*, he is to us wholly invisible,"—μορφήν τε καὶ μέγεθος ἡμῖν ἀφανέσατος.[d]

Theophylact gives the same interpretation of μορφὴ as used in this passage—Μορφὴ γὰρ Θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία λέγεται ὥσπερ μορφῇ δούλου ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου. "Forma enim Dei *essentia* dicitur, quemadmodum forma servi, natura servi." Theodoret also paraphrases the words ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, by Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ φύσει Θεὸς, "cum enim esset Deus et natura Deus;" and the ancient fathers in general have cited these words as descriptive of the preexistence of the Son of God in *the divine nature*.[e]

That the actual deity of Jesus Christ is involved in the doctrine of his having, before his humiliation, subsisted *in the form of God*, appears to be confirmed by

[a] *Hammond* in loc. [b] *De Repub.* [c] *M. J.* 73, *Wetstein* in loc. [d] *Contra Apion.* lib. ii. *Wetstein* in loc. [e] *Origen in Matt.* tom. xv, Ed. Ben. iii, 661. *Clemens Alex. Cohort. ad Gent.* Ed. Ben. i, 8. *Tertullian. de Resur. Carn.* Ed. Seml. iii, 221. *Novatian. de Regula Fid.* cap. 22. Ed. Jackson. p. 176. *Chrysostom. de Christi Prec.* Ed. Ben. i. 537. *Eusebius contra Marcellum*, lib. i, Ed. Colon. A. D. 1588, p. 25. *Id. contra Marcellum de Ecc. Theol.* lib. i, pp. 94, 95, &c.

the subsequent declaration, that he took upon him "*the form of a servant*," for after his incarnation, and in his human nature, Jesus Christ was truly the servant of God, to the execution of whose commission he was unreservedly devoted: and in a less proper sense, he was also the servant of man, to whose wants he came "*to minister*."[a] It may moreover be observed, that Paul in this remarkable sentence, employs not only the word μορφὴ, but even ὁμοίωμα (similitude) and σχῆμα (fashion) to denote not a mere appearance, but a particular mode of actual existence. When he says that Christ was made in the *likeness* of men, and was found in *fashion* as a man, he evidently means, as is universally allowed, that Christ was truly and properly, a man.[2]

On the whole, when we deliberately compare, in this passage, the force of μορφὴ Θεοῦ, with that of μορφὴ δούλου and ὁμοίωμα and σχῆμα ἀνθρώπου, it seems impossible for us to misapprehend the doctrine of the apostle. That doctrine plainly appears to be this—that Jesus Christ, who subsisted in the nature and condition of God, so humbled himself, as to take upon him the nature and condition of a servant and a man.

II. Τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ. "To be equal with God,"—or "his equality with God." The force of the expression τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, is very inadequately represented by the words of U. N. V. "*the resemblance to God.*" Dr. Clarke's version, "to be honored *as* God," comes

[a] Matt. xx, 28.

[2] That ὁμοίωμα here signifies, not a fictitious resemblance, but an actual conformity to the nature and condition of man, appears from Heb. ii, 17, where our Lord's being made *like* unto his brethren (ὁμοιωθῆναι) is mentioned as equivalent to his taking part "of flesh and blood." With respect to the word σχῆμα, it is used in classical Greek, to express not merely the appearance, but the actual *condition* of a person, as Raphelius proves from Xenophon and Polybius. Vid. *Annot. in N. T.* in loc.

66889

nearer to the original, which imports not only a resemblance to God, but an actual *equality with him.* Such appears to have been the general and unhesitating opinion of the Greek fathers and commentators.[a]

It does not appear that ἴσα, as generally used by Greek authors, expresses any thing short of absolute equality. Eustathius indeed observes upon Iliad ε, 441, that ἴσα there takes the sense of ὁμοίως—"like," upon which Stephens remarks,[b] "Sed ego non video quid obstet quominus in altera significatione (scil. æqualitatis) ibi sumatur." It is indeed evident that ἴσα in that passage of Homer signifies "equally" and not "like." Diomed is exhorted not to desire to be wise *as* the Gods:

Μηδὲ Θεοῖσιν Ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονέειν.

Neque Diis *paria* velis meditari. *(Dr. S. Clarke.)*

So Iliad ε. 72. Ὃς ἔα νόθος μὲν ἔην, πύκα δ' ἔτρεφε δῖα Θεανὼ,
Ἴσα φίλοισι τέκεσσι.

Qui nothus quidem erat, studiose tamen *eum* educavit nobilis Theano
Æque cum dilectis liberis. *(Id.)*

ν. 176. ——————ὁ δέ μιν τίεν Ἶσα τέκεσσι.
——————isque eum honorabat *æque* ac filios. *(Id.)*

ο. 439. Ἶσα φίλοισι τοκεῦσιν.
Æque ac caros parentes. *(Id.)*

Odyss. α. 432. Ἶσα δέ μιν κεδνῇ ἀλόχῳ τίεν.
Æque autem ipsam ac pudicam uxorem honorabat.

Comp. λ. 303, 483. *(Id.)*

See also Hippocrates:[c] Ὀμνυμι ἡγήσεσθαι μὲν τὸν διδάξοντά με τὴν τέχνην ταύτην, ἴσα γενέτῃσιν ἐμοῖσιν. "I swear that I will esteem the person who shall teach me that art, *equally* with my own parents." It seems very plain

[a] See for example Isidorus of Pel. lib. iv. 22. Cyril of Alexandria, *in Esai.* lib. iv. orat. 4. Ed. Lutet. ii. 661. Theodoret, Theophylact, Œcumenius, and Damascenus, in loc. [b] *In Thes.*
[c] Jurejurand. c. i, p. 42, (cited by Schleusner).

that in these several instances ἴσα, although employed simply as an adverb, denotes not a mere similitude, but an actual equality. It is true that Dr. Whitby has quoted from the Septuagint version of the book of Job several passages in which ἴσα, used as an adverb, may not unsuitably be rendered by our word "like." [a]"Hast thou curdled me ἴσα τυρῷ, *as* or *like* cheese?" [b]"He is consumed ἴσα ἀσκῷ, *as* or *like* a skin bottle:" [c]"Wickedness shall be broken ἴσα ξύλῳ, *as* or *like* wood," &c.[d] Although the adverb *like* may here be very properly employed in translation, and although there is obviously no *parity* between Job and a cheese, between man and a bottle, or between wickedness and wood—yet ἴσα in these passages does not lose its true and original force of *equality;* for Job was curdled *as violently* as a cheese; man is consumed *as quickly* as a skin bottle; and wickedness is *no less* liable to be broken than wood. Were it however to be allowed that ἴσα, when thus used adverbially, may sometimes denote nothing more than a similitude, (of which signification I am unable to discover any valid example,) such an interpretation would still be inapplicable to Phil. ii, 6,—a passage in which ἴσα is preceded by the verb εἶναι *to be;* and in which it therefore appears to assume the place of the singular accusative, ἴσον. Such is the express judgment of Erasmus Schmidt (as quoted by Dr. Pye Smith), and also of Schleusner.[e] Now if τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ has the same force with τὸ εἶναι ἴσον Θεῷ these expressions undoubtedly import *an actual equality with God.*

Some commentators have observed that the phrase

[a] Job, x, 10. [b] xiii, 28. [c] xxiv, 20. [d] Whitby on Phil. ii, 6.
[e] Lex. in voc.

ἴσα Θεῷ has the same meaning with the Greek adjective ἰσόθεος—an adjective usually rendered by our word *godlike;* and thence they infer that ἴσα here implies only similitude.[a] Ἰσόθεος is a word often used by profane authors, but not to be found in the Holy Scriptures; and the low notions respecting their *deities,* entertained by the heathen, preclude any just comparison between this expression, as employed by *them,* and the ἴσα Θεῷ of an apostle. But on the supposition that ἴσα Θεῷ has the same force as ἰσόθεος, the inference deduced from these premises is inadmissible. Ἰσόθεος properly signifies not *Deo similis,* but *Deo æqualis, Deo par.*[b] That ἴσος in composition retains the sense of real equality, is evident from the words ἰσοβαρὴς, *æque gravis,* ἰσόδοξος, *æque clarus,* ἰσοδύναμος, *æque potens,* ἰσοελκὴς, *par pondere, &c.*[3]

On the subject of the words τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, we have to remark in conclusion, that their true meaning does not appear to be quite accurately represented by the English translation, " to be equal with God." It is justly observed by a commentator in Poole's Synopsis, that the article τὸ is here used δεικτι-

[a] So Cappe, *Crit. Rem. on Scrip.* i, 233. [b] *Scapulæ Lex.* in voc.

[3] If the reader will examine, in any Greek Lexicon, the long list of words formed by ἴσος in composition, he will, I believe, find that the idea of *equality* is always preserved in them. The only word which appears to have suggested a doubt on the subject is ἰσάγγελος. This word occurs in Luke xx, 36. Of persons who are counted worthy to obtain an inheritance in heaven, it is there said, " Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels—ἰσαγγέλοι γάρ εἰσι." It is observed by Cappe that ἴσος in the composition of this word must needs have the force of *similis* merely, because, in his opinion, a faint *resemblance* to the angels is all that the heirs of the kingdom of heaven can aspire to; but the point of comparison, in this instance, is *immortality,* in which respect the spirits of the just made perfect and the angels are unquestionably *equal.*

κῶς—"to indicate that which was." On this principle, we ought rather to render the phrase as signifying "*the being equal with God;*" or more freely, "*his equality with God.*" There is evidently a strong analogy between the two descriptions here given by Paul of the glory of Christ preexistent—the *first,* that he was in the form of God—the *second,* that he was equal with God. After having described our Lord as subsisting ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ, it is probable that by the words τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, the apostle intended to *refer* to that preceding description, and to point out, in a somewhat different manner, the *same* glorious condition of the Son of God.

III. Οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, "thought it not robbery." Dr. Clarke, in the third edition of his work on the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity, paraphrases his own version of οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, as follows:—"Desired not to make ostentation of his being in the form of God, was not *greedy* or *fond,* or *looked upon it as a prize to be hastily catched at* (so the words more strictly signify) *of being honored as God;*" and he afterwards quotes Lambert Bos as having yet more accurately expressed the true meaning of the passage —"non temere, subito, et sine prævio labore, *arripiendum* sibi duxit, ut esset ἴσα Θεῷ."[a] Now if we are correct in the view just given of the words τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ,—namely, that τὸ is used δεικτικῶς, and that the whole phrase denotes an *already subsisting* equality of Christ with God; it is evident that this learned author's interpretation must fall to the ground, for it would be absurd to say, that Christ did not *covet* or was not eager to *catch at* an honor, *of which he was actually in possession.* It appears also to be scarcely

[a] *Exerc. Philol.* in loc.

possible that the substantive ἁρπαγμὸς should signify "*res rapienda*" or "*quicquid arripiendum*"—"*a prize to be hastily catched at.*" Dr. Clarke himself soon afterwards explains ἁρπαγμὸς as having the same meaning with ἅρπαγμα—that is to say, a booty *already seized;* and in the *second edition* of his work, his paraphrase of this passage plainly rests on the principle that ἁρπαγμὸς signifies not *res rapienda,* but *res rapta*—i. e. "*a prize in actual possession.*" It is as follows: "was not greedy or fond of, or unwilling to *let go,* the prize of being honored as God;" and again, "was not greedy or fond of or unwilling to *part with,* the prize of being honored as God." The editors of U. N. V. themselves could have no other meaning in the very loose version which they have given of this passage ("did not eagerly grasp at the resemblance with God, but *divested himself of it*"); for how should Christ *divest* himself of that, which he did not in the first instance possess?[4]

In support of his own peculiar interpretation of the apostle's words—"he did not *covet* or *catch at,* to be

[4] Since writing the above, I observe that in their fourth edition, the Editors of U. N. V. have corrected their version of this passage, and have rendered οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, "did not esteem as a prey, this resemblance to God." Were it not for the substitution of *resemblance* for *equality,* this version might perhaps be regarded as unexceptionable.

Newcome Cappe, who renders ἁρπαγμὸς as in E. T. by "robbery," enters his protest as a Greek scholar, against the supposition "that a verbal noun (like ἁρπαγμὸς or ἅρπαγμα) can be rendered properly in Latin by the gerund of the verb from which it is derived." "Who," says he, "would translate μίγμα or μιγμὸς, a thing to be mingled, or that ought to be mingled; βάπτισμα or βαπτισμὸς, a thing to be washed; ἅγνισμα or ἁγνισμὸς, a thing to be purified; λόγισμα or λογισμὸς, a thing to be reckoned or argued? Such sort of terms signify the thing produced by the action which the verb whence they are derived denotes; ποίημα is a thing made; ἅρπαγμα a thing violently seized." *Crit. Remarks,* vol. i, p. 276. These remarks appear to be very just; except only that this author confounds verbal nouns terminating in μα with those ending in μος.

honored as God"—Dr. Clarke quotes the well known letter addressed, on the subject of the martyrdoms, by the churches of Lyons and Vienna to those of Asia and Phrygia, (A. D. 177) and preserved in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius. The authors of that letter aver, that the Martyrs were such zealous imitators of Christ, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, that although they had been frequently cast to wild beasts, and had endured all manner of torments—ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δὶς ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μαρτυρήσαντες—" being in so much glory, and having not only once or twice, but oftentimes suffered as martyrs"—they would, nevertheless, by no means allow themselves to be honored with that title, before they had perfected their testimony by their death.

On an attentive consideration, this quotation will be found to afford no support to any interpretation of the apostle's words, which represents the τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, (equality with God,) as an honor which Christ did not possess, and did not covet to obtain. On the contrary, the words, as here quoted, evidently represent that equality as an honor in possession, on the *retaining* of which our Lord did not insist, as if it were a booty. The meaning of the writer is clear—"As Christ, who was in the form of God, and equal with him, did not insist on his equal honor with the Father, but abstained from it, and made himself of no reputation; so did these Christians, although so truly worthy of glory, and, in point of merit, true martyrs, refuse and abdicate the title to which they had so just a claim."[a]

It will be observed that the authors of this letter, have interpreted the words ἁρπαγμὸν οὐχ ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι

[a] *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* lib. v, cap. 1.

ἴσα Θεῷ as belonging to the description of our Lord's *condescension,* and as connected in sense with what follows, ἀλλ' ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, &c. It will also be observed that the meaning which they attach to the word ἁρπαγμὸς is probably the same as that which more properly belongs to ἅρπαγμα—that is, *præda, res rapta.* The martyrs followed the example of Christ, who did not use his glory as if it were *a prey.* He who subsisted in the form of God, did not regard his equality with the Father in the light of a booty—or of a possession violently obtained, and therefore eagerly to be insisted upon—but made himself of no reputation, &c.

The true meaning of the passage, with ἁρπαγμὸς thus interpreted, is ably developed by Schleusner, as follows: "Non habuit *prædæ loco* similitudinem cum Deo, (or rather *æqualitatem,* according to the express judgment of this author, in voc. ἴσος,) hoc est, qua poterat uti majestate divina, non cupide utendum esse existimavit; seu non semper eam fecit conspicuam, interdum abstinuit ab ea." This is unquestionably the sense in which most of the ancient fathers and commentators understood the words of the apostle. Theodoret's observation on the passage is as follows: Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν, καὶ φύσει Θεὸς, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἰσότητα ἔχων, οὐ μέγα τοῦτο ὑπέλαβε· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν τιμῆς τινὸς τετυχηκότων. "For being God, and God by nature, and possessing equality with the Father, he did not make much of (or in a boastful manner insist upon) this his dignity; for such a disposition is peculiar to those, who have obtained any honor, *contrary to their merits.*" And again Theodoret observes, τῶν γὰρ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἁρπαζόντων ἴδιον τὸ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν, "for to be *high minded* respecting their possessions is

[a] *Lex. N. T.* voc. ἁρπαγμὸς.

characteristic of those who seize upon things, which do not belong to them." The passage is explained in a similar manner by Theophylact,[a] Œcumenius,[b] and Isidorus of Pelusium.[c] Origen has frequently referred to the words οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, as descriptive of our Lord's *condescension.* Thus in his Commentary on Matt. xix, 14, he says of Christ, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγησάμενος τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, γέγονε παιδίον. "For he himself who was in the form of God, *not considering his equality with God a booty,* (to be greedily insisted on,) became a child."[d] And, that this father's interpretation of the apostle's words was precisely the same as that of Theodoret, appears (if any reliance may be placed on his translator Ruffinus) from the following passage of his Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans. "In forma enim Dei erat, et videns unius hominis delicto mortem regnare per populos, creaturæ suæ non obliviscitur, nec rapinam ducit esse se æqualem Deo: hoc est, non *sibi magni aliquid deputat, quod ipse quidem æqualis Deo et unum cum patre est.* Opus vero suum depascitur mors unius hominis ingressa delicto: exinanivit igitur seipsum de æqualitate et forma Dei, et servi suscepit formam et fit homo."[e] Cyril of Alexandria quotes the passage, as importing a real equality between the Father and the Son, and at the same time interprets it in the sense now stated.[f] Lastly, Chrysostom has in a very interesting manner explained the apostle's words on the same principle. "If Jesus Christ," says that father, "had consented to become flesh, *on account of his being inferior to God,* his doing this would have been no sign of his humility;

[a] In loc. [b] In loc. [c] Lib. iv, ep. 22. [d] Ed. Ben. tom. iii, 661.
[e] Ed. Ben. tom. iv, 553. [f] *Cyril. in Esaiam,* lib. iv, orat. 4.

for humility is then displayed, when an equal obeys an equal. This the apostle himself shows when he says ὃς ἐν μορφῇ, &c. What does he mean by οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, &c.? The person who has seized upon any thing which does not belong to him, retains it pertinaciously, and is too fearful, and too little confident of the safety of his possession, to be willing to lay it aside. But he who possesses a good thing which, although he may hide it, cannot be taken away from him, has no fears. As an example to elucidate the apostle's meaning, I will suppose the same person to have a slave and a son. The slave claims his liberty wrongfully, and rebels against his master. He therefore submits no longer to servile work, and when commanded refuses obedience, being fearful lest obedience should injure his liberty, and lest the command of his master should work any obstruction to his own views; for he has seized upon his honors, and holds them contrary to his deserts. The son on the other hand, will refuse to perform no servile work; for he knows that even though he undergo all the services of slaves, his liberty will receive no injury, but will remain unchangeable.—Such then is the meaning of the apostle, when he thus speaks of Christ; for since Christ was by his nature a free and legitimate Son, *he did not fear to conceal his equality with God as if he had seized upon it as a booty*, but confidently took upon him the form of a servant.[5]

From the quotations which have now been made,

[4] *De Christi Precibus*, x, Ed. Ben. tom. i, 538.

[5] The Arabic version of Phil. ii, 6, as rendered in *Walton's Polyg.* appears to have nearly the same meaning, as that which these fathers have adopted. "Qui semper existens ad imaginem Dei, non tenuit *sortem raptam* parem se esse Deo, sed humiliavit semet ipsum &c." So also Luther's version, "Welcher ob er wohl in göttlicher gestalt war, hielt er es nicht für einen Raub Gott gleich seyn, son-

it is evident that the Greek fathers in general, in their interpretation of this passage, have left unnoticed the distinction between verbal substantives terminating in μος and those ending in μα. They do not appear to hesitate in interpreting ἁρπαγμὸς as if it was the same with ἅρπαγμα. As Greek was their native language, it is impossible to deny that their authority on such a point is very considerable; especially when it is so nearly uniform as in the present instance. Gilbert Wakefield assures us that even by classical authors verbal nouns ending in μος and μα are often confounded; and he quotes Eustathius, who says that ξεσμὸς and ξέσμα, δεσμὸς and δέσμα, ῥωχμὸς and ῥῆγμα, βρεχμὸς and βρέχμα, πλεχμὸς and πλέχμα, respectively, mean the *same thing*.*

* *In Il.* pp. 1386, 1425. *Silv. Crit.* b. iii, p. 112, 113.

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dern aüsserte sich selbst. Who, though he was in the form of God, did not consider it a *prey* to be equal with God, but resigned himself, &c." This passage has been illustrated by the use which Heliodorus (A. D. circa 400) has made of the word ἅρπαγμα in his romance of Theagenes and Chariclea. Of Theagenes, who refused an offer of indulgence, it is said ἀποθεῖται, καὶ οὐχ ἅρπαγμα οὐδὲ ἔρμαιον ἡγεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, lib. vii, sec. 20. "He rejects it, and does not regard the thing as a booty and a gain." Here it is evident that ἅρπαγμα like ἔρμαιον does not signify an absent advantage to be coveted or greedily sought after, but a prize already in possession, from the use of which the hero of the tale *abstained*. Heliodorus repeatedly uses the word ἅρπαγμα in the same sense. See lib. vii, sec. 11, &c. *Whitby*, in loc. *Dr. Pye Smith*, vol. ii, 413. Cameron observes that the phrase ἁρπαγμὸν οὐχ ἡγήσατο, was derived from the custom of conquerors, in that age, to erect trophies of the spoils taken from their enemies, and thus to make a show of the honors which they had violently obtained—"Christ made not a triumph or trophy of his being equal with God;" in loc. This idea is in accordance with the apostle's expressions in Col. ii, 15. Ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παῤῥησίᾳ, θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ—"Having spoiled principalities and powers, *he made a show of it openly*, triumphing over them in himself." So *Michaelis* renders the phrase in Phil. ii, 6, "nicht als einen Raub Schau trug dass er Gotte gleich wäre."—He did not make a show of it as of a prey, that he was equal with God."

On the presumption that such an interpretation of ἁρπαγμὸς is admissible, there appears no reasonable objection to the explanation of this passage which the ancients have so generally adopted, and which, in later times, has been so clearly stated by Schleusner. That explanation presents a meaning at once clear and forcible; and the reader will not fail to remark that it leaves inviolate the apostle's doctrine of the actual equality of Christ, in his divine nature, with the Father.

Notwithstanding however the weight which attaches to these authorities, it still seems to be a questionable point whether, in the interpretation of this passage, the grammatical distinction, above alluded to, can be fairly set aside. That verbal nouns ending in μα are *passive*, and those which terminate in μος *active*, in their signification, is a rule notoriously of common application in the Greek language. Thus, *according to general usage*, ξέσμα is the thing polished, δέσμα the thing bound, πλέγμα the thing braided, ῥῆγμα the thing broken, and ἅρπαγμα the thing seized. On the other hand ξεσμὸς is the act of polishing, δεσμὸς the act of binding, πλεγμὸς the act of braiding, ἀασμὸς the act of exhaling, ἀσπαγμὸς the act of saluting, ψιθυρισμὸς the act of whispering, ἀκοντισμὸς the act of darting, &c. &c. It may moreover be observed that the exceptions to which this rule is liable, apply to the former rather than to the latter branch of it; for although examples may be found of verbal nouns ending in μα, denoting *action*, (βάπτισμα for instance) it does not appear that any critic, on this passage, has adduced any example of a verbal noun ending in μος with a *passive* sense.

According to our rule then, ἁρπαγμὸς signifies not the *booty seized*, but the *act of seizing it*, and must

be regarded as having the same force as ἁρπαγή. Stephens explains ἁρπαγμὸς as signifying "Raptus, ipsa rapiendi actio, direptio, in qua significatione usitatius est ἁρπαγή:"[a] and such is plainly the signification of the word in the only passage of classical Greek in which it has hitherto been discovered. That passage is in Plutarch, who speaks of τὸν ἐκ Κρήτης καλούμενον ἁρπαγμόν—"that which is called the *seizure* out of Crete."[6] If ἁρπαγμος, in Phil. ii, 6, be thus understood, the clause of which it forms a part must be rendered as attaching in sense to the first part of the sentence, and as belonging to the apostle's account, not of the humiliation, but of the original glory of Christ. Such is the order of our received English Version of the passage, which may be paraphrased as follows: "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who was in the form of God, and did not regard his equality with God (i. e. his receiving equal honours with Him) as a robbery or undue presumption; nevertheless he made himself of no reputation, &c."[7]

[a] *Thesaur.* in voc.

[6] Vid. *Plutarch de Liberis Educ.* as quoted by Wetstein. This elaborate critic has also discovered a passage in the writings of *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, which contains the word ἁρπαγμὸς. Speaking of Lot, who was unwilling to avail himself of the refusal of the angels to partake of his hospitality, Cyril says, ὁ δίκαιος μειζόνως κατεβίαζετο, καὶ οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν τὴν παραίτησιν ἐποιεῖτο—"The just man pressed them the more, and did not regard their refusal as a *prize*." Tom. i, pars ii, p. 25, Ed. Par. 1638. Here ἁρπαγμὸς is used as denoting a *booty in possession*, and is therefore identical with ἅρπαγμα —being passive in sense. Since however this father has frequently quoted Phil. ii, 6, and was accustomed to apply it in the sense given by Schleusner, his own use of ἁρπαγμὸς cannot be considered as a distinct authority for such a meaning of the word. He has evidently done no more than borrow the term from the apostle. Vid. tom. ii, 660, *d.* 738, *b.* 777, *e.* &c.

[7] The use of ἀλλὰ for ἀλλ' ὁμῶς, nevertheless, is by no means uncommon, especially in the writings of this apostle. Vid. Rom. v, 14; 1 Cor. ix, 12, &c.

This interpretation of the passage presents a sense no less clear and appropriate than that which we have already considered, and appears to have the support of some ancient authorities. Amongst these may be reckoned the *Vulgate*, "Non *rapinam* arbitratus est, esse se æqualem Deo;" also, *the two Syriac versions*, which for ἁρπαγμὸν have חטופיא, a substantive which signifies direptio, and which in the Peschito represents the Greek word ἁρπαγή.[a] *Tertullian* renders the passage "In effigie Dei constitutus, non rapinam existimavit pariari Deo."[b] *Basil* says ὁ οὖν υἱὸς οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγησάμενος τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, πῶς ἀνόμοιος καὶ ἄνισος Θεῷ: "How therefore should the Son, who thought his equality (or his receiving equal honor) with God no robbery, be unlike and unequal to God?"[c] *Athanasius*, ὅλος Θεὸς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἴσα Θεῷ ὤν, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ. "The Son is completely God, and therefore being equal with God, he thought his equality (or his receiving equal honor) with God, no robbery."[d]

IV. Since either of the interpretations given of the clause ἁρπαγμὸν οὐχ ἡγήσατο, &c. secures the great doctrine, that our Saviour, who existed in the form or nature of God, was therein equal with the Father, we may proceed to examine, to what part of our Lord's revealed history this description of his divine glory peculiarly attaches. In order to the settlement of this question, it is necessary shortly to dwell on the third clause of the sentence—Αλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος—"*but (or nevertheless) reduced himself, taking the form of a*

[a] Matt. xxiii, 25. Luke xi, 39. Heb. x, 34. [b] *Adv. Marcion.* lib. v, cap. 20, Ed. Seml. i, 467. [c] *Adv. Eunom.* lib. iv, Ed Ben. i, p. 295. [d] *Orat.* iv, *Contra Arian.* Ed. Colon. tom. i, p. 458.

servant, being made in the likeness of men." The expressive phrase ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν literally signifies, "he *emptied himself*," and denotes *a change* from a condition of fulness, richness, and glory, to one of emptiness, poverty, and humiliation. This interpretation, the correctness of which may be said to speak for itself, is in substance adopted in all the ancient versions, by all the fathers who have quoted the passage, and by modern commentators and translators *in general.* It accords with the radical meaning of κενόω, and with the use of that verb in the New Testament and the Septuagint; and it aptly corresponds with the doctrine of the same apostle in another place. "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, (πλούσιος ὤν,) yet for your sakes, he *became poor*, (ἐπτώχευσε) that ye, through his poverty, might be rich."[8]

At what period then of our Lord's history did this change take place, from fulness to emptiness, from glory to humiliation? Certainly not during the course of his life upon earth, the whole of which was passed in a condition, substantially unchanging, of lowliness and

[8] 2 Cor. viii, 9. The verb πτωχεύειν does not elsewhere occur in the New Testament. In classical Greek, it signifies simply *to be a pauper or a beggar*, as in *Odyss.* ο *l.* 308. But in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, from which it is most probable that the apostle Paul borrowed the use of the term, it appears uniformly to denote a *change* from riches to poverty, from prosperity to adversity: answering to the Hebrew דַּל *attenuor* רוּשׁ *depauperatus sum.* Vid. Sept. Jud. vi, 6; xiv, 15; Ps. xxxiii, 10; lxxviii, 8; Prov. xxiii, 21. So also in the Apocr. Tob. iv, 21. The context in 2 Cor. viii, confirms the commonly received version of ἐπτώχευσε. The Corinthians are exhorted to give money to the poor saints at Jerusalem, and thus to renounce part of their wealth in the cause of humanity. To this work the apostle encourages them, by holding up the example of Christ, who being rich in all the glory of his original godhead, out of compassion for mankind *made himself poor.* So Theodoret and Theophylact, in loc.

poverty. If indeed it be said, that in submitting himself at last, to the shameful death of the cross, he sank down to a lower point of depression, than he had previously reached, the reply is obvious—that this last step of humiliation cannot be here alluded to, because it is separately mentioned by the apostle: "being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Again, if we take up the supposition of the editors of U. N. V. that the declaration of our Lord's being in the form of God and equal with God, applies only to his possessing the miraculous powers of an eminently inspired prophet, we are immediately driven from this ground, by the clause which we are now considering (ἀλλ' ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, &c.) when we recollect that *these powers* he never renounced—that of *these glories* he never emptied himself. They distinguished his ministry from its commencement to its termination: even while he hung upon the cross, a portentous darkness bespoke their continuance, and the miracle of his own resurrection proved that they were not suspended by the extinction of his natural life.

The mighty change, which the apostle designates by the explicit term ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, took place, the apostle himself being our witness, when the Son of God "took upon him the form of a servant, being made in *the likeness of men*"—the period when "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law"[a]—when the Saviour took part of "flesh and blood," and came to do the Father's will in the "body" which God had prepared for him[b]—when "Jesus Christ" came "in the flesh"[c]—when the WORD, eternal and

[a] Gal. iv, 4. [b] Heb. ii, 14; x, 5,—9. [c] 1 John, iv, 2.

divine in himself, "was made flesh and dwelt amongst us."[a]

It was at his incarnation, and then only, as cannot fail to be plain to the unsophisticated reader of Scripture, that the Son of God "took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the *likeness of men.*" Some of the Unitarian critics however have attempted to elude the force of this reasoning, by attributing to the word ἀνθρώπων the sense of *men in a low station:* and they would accordingly persuade us that the condescension of our Lord consisted not in his taking our nature upon him, but in his being contented with *a low rank in life.* Newcome Cappe, one of the most learned of these writers, has with much clearness stated this view of the subject. He informs his readers, that in Hebrew there are three terms which signify *man:* the first (אֱנוֹשׁ) with the connotation of *mortality and misery:* the second (אָדָם) with the connotation of *meanness and inferiority of rank:* the third (אִישׁ) with the connotation of *dignity and honor;*—that ἄνθρωπος is the word used in the Septuagint, to express the second of these terms (אָדָם), in those passages in which it is opposed to אִישׁ, the honorable term;—that the Greek ἀνὴρ, on the contrary, represents that honorable term;—that in Acts ii, 22, a passage which he supposes to be particularly expressive of the dignity of Christ, the word used by Peter to describe him is ἀνὴρ and not ἄνθρωπος:—that for these reasons the word ἄνθρωπος, as applied to Christ in Philippians ii, 7, ought to be understood as indicating his *mean condition or rank.*[b] That the premises of this writer are wholly insufficient to justify his conclusion,

[a] John i, 14. [b] *Crit. Rem. on Scrip.* vol. i, p. 236.

must be evident to every one who is accustomed to the perusal of the Hebrew and Greek scriptures. But his premises themselves are fallacious. It is not true that אָדָם as generally used in the Hebrew Bible, carries with it any such connotation as that of *meanness and inferiority of rank.* Out of the multitude of passages in which the word occurs, there are only four or five in which it appears to adopt any such meaning. Nor is it true that in these four or five passages, the distinction between the Hebrew words אָדָם and אִישׁ is uniformly represented in the Septuagint by a similar use of the Greek words ἄνθρωπος and ἀνὴρ: for, in two of them,[a] the term denoting inferiority, and the term denoting honour, are *alike* translated by the Greek word ἄνθρωπος. And of the other numerous passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, in which we find either the word אָדָם or the word אִישׁ, there are about twenty in which the *degrading* term אָדָם is represented in the Septuagint by the *honourable* term ἀνὴρ: and not less than *four hundred,* in which the *honourable* term אִישׁ is represented by the *degrading* term ἄνθρωπος. So unsound and deceptive is the foundation upon which this author endeavours to erect his interpretation of Phil. ii, 7.

In the New Testament the word ἄνθρωπος is used to describe men of every rank—the master as well as the servant—the prince as well as the subject. Instances of its application to persons of an elevated station may be found in Matt. viii, 9; xi, 8; xiii, 52; xviii, 23; Luke vii, 25; xii, 16, &c. The simple fact of the case (as Cappe must have very well known) is this; that this word, like the Hebrew אָדָם and the Latin *homo,* is the generic name of *man*—that in its

[a] Ps. lxii, 9; Prov. viii, 4.

general use it is applied indifferently to all sorts and conditions of men—and that it properly signifies *a being endued with the human nature, quisquam natura humana præditus.* Such, undoubtedly, is the sense in which the apostle Paul was accustomed to employ this substantive—such the sense, in which he uniformly applied it to Jesus Christ, with reference not only to his state of humiliation, but to his state of exaltation.[a] No reasonable doubt can be entertained that, in the passages cited below, and in Phil. ii, 7, the apostle had in view the same doctrine—namely that Jesus Christ was truly *man*—that he really assumed our *nature;* nor is there in the Greek language, any word signifying *man*, which would so accurately have expressed that doctrine as the word ἄνθρωπος.

On the review of the evidences which have now been adduced, I trust the reader will be fully convinced that the period at which our Lord is here described as emptying or reducing himself from his condition of glorious exaltation, was that of his incarnation. Hence it follows that *before his incarnation*, he was "in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God."

Was it posssible then, it may be asked, that he should empty himself of his divinity, and lay aside a nature which is immutable and eternal? No one, I presume, will hesitate in answering such a question in the negative. But, although in his godhead eternally the same, our Saviour condescended to take upon him the nature of frail and suffering man; and in doing this he veiled his glory, and in a great degree abstained from the "manifestations and outward exercises of the divine

[a] Rom. v, 15. 1 Cor. xv, 21, 47. 1 Tim. ii, 5.—*comp.* Rom. i, 23; ii, 9, 29; v. 12. 1 Cor. ii, 9, 11, &c.

perfections." This and this only is the change, as Dr. Pye Smith has well observed, which any reasonable critic can imagine to be here indicated by the verb ἐκένωσεν.[a]

V. The lowest depth of our Lord's humiliation—the death of the cross—is described by the apostle in verses 8 and 9, as the immediate occasion of his restitution to glory—"being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; *wherefore* God also hath "*highly exalted him,*"—αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε. *Exaltavit eum,* Vulg. *Sublimitatem ejus multiplicavit, i. e. eum admodum exaltavit,* Syr. *Sublimitate sublimavit,* Arab. *Magnificavit,* Œthiop. *Insigniter exaltavit,* Erasmus. *In summam extulit sublimitatem,* Beza, Piscator, and Vorstius in Poole. Pierce is of opinion that the verb ὑπερύψωσε implies the elevation of Christ to a *higher* glory than that which he possessed before his humiliation, and he paraphrases the clause before us, "*on this account God has advanced him, higher than before.*" Such an interpretation, were it allowed, would not affect our doctrine that the glory which our Lord possessed before his humiliation, was the glory of his preexistence, in the divine nature: for to that glory there was afterwards *superadded* the praise of having redeemed the world. Of the period of his final exaltation, it was the *peculiar glory,* that "*when he had by himself purged our sins,*" he "sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high."[b] There does not however appear to be any just ground for this explanation of ὑπερύψωσε, which verb is rightly rendered by the various translators above quoted; and which implies nothing more than an *exceedingly high exaltation,* or to speak more accurately,

[a] *Script. Test.* vol. ii, p. 409. [b] Heb. i, 3.

an *exaltation above other beings.* The verb ὑπερυψόω is not elsewhere found in the New Testament, but this is the meaning which it uniformly adopts in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.[a] That such is the signification of that verb in Phil. ii, 9, is abundantly evident from the context; for, after having declared that God "hath highly exalted" Christ, the apostle immediately proceeds to state, in further explanation of the same doctrine, that he "hath given him a name *above* every name—ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα,—that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father."[b]

Here there is an obvious allusion to the words of JEHOVAH, in the Old Testament, "I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that UNTO ME every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear."[9] The honour which in that passage JEHOVAH claims as exclusively his own, is here described as inherited by the risen and glorified Jesus; nor will the analogy of Scripture allow us for a moment to imagine that the Son of God could thus be represented as an object of worship to the whole rational creation, on any other principle than that of his absolute and acknowledged deity.

How admirable is the apostle's consecutive state-

[a] See *Sept.* Ps. xxxvi, 37; xcvi, 10; Dan. iv, 34. Comp. *Apocr.* Cant. tr. p. 22, 27. [b] Phil. ii, 9—11.

[9] Isa. xlv, 23. The Hebrew word rendered in Eng. Trans., "shall swear," is represented in the Septuagint, as it is now read, by the Greek word ὀμεῖται; but from Rom. xiv, 11, as well as from Phil. ii, 10; it is evident that for ὀμεῖται the apostle Paul read ἐξομολογήσεται, "shall confess," which agrees with the Alexandrine and other manuscripts of the Septuagint.

ment of the several principal stages of the history of the Son of God! How remarkable the manner in which the divine character of Christ is here described as maintaining *its own level!*

The Eternal Word, subsisting in the form or nature of God, claims and receives an equal honor with the Father. In the fulness of time, he reduces himself from his lofty estate, assumes the humiliations and poverty of human nature, and finally subjects himself to the death of the cross. Yet this, his deepest depression, is only a passage to renewed exaltation. He rises from the dead. He ascends into heaven. He sits down at the right hand of the majesty on high; and now he is again made manifest as the object of divine adoration to the rational universe. Behold the Sun, in his meridian splendour, travelling in the greatness of his might. As the evening approaches he robes himself in the clouds of the West, and soon sinks beneath the horizon. Then is his light, although for a time perceptible, obscured and intercepted, and as he pursues his downward course, the hour of midnight is found to be one of total darkness. Yet himself remains unchanged and unchangeable. At his appointed moment, he puts forth the beams of the morning: he scales the heavens, and presently regaining his highest elevation, he displays himself in all the brightness and beauty of his yesterday's glory.

No. 8.

On the Chaldee Targums, and on the Doctrine of their authors respecting the Word of Jehovah.

THE Targums, some of which may be considered the most ancient Rabbinical works now extant, are translations or paraphrases of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Chaldee language.

This language is of the same root and origin as the Hebrew, but is of a softer and less simple character, differing from Hebrew very much in the same manner, though not quite in the same degree, as Italian from Latin. In its *purest* form the Chaldee is found only in the books of Daniel and Ezra: yet it displays no great degeneracy in the Targum of Jonathan on the prophets, and still less in that of Onkelos on the law. In all the other Targums, as well as in the Talmuds,[1] and in later Rabbinical writings, it assumes

[1] The Talmuds are two—that of Jerusalem, and the Babylonian. The basis of both of them is the same; namely, the Mishnah, or oral law of the Jews, which they pretend was delivered to Moses on mount Sinai, and from him handed down through a perpetual succession of elders and doctors, until, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, (circa A.D. 150) it was reduced to writing by Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh (the holy). To the Mishnah was added, by the doctors of Jerusalem, a *gemara* or commentary, which was completed about the year of our Lord 300. The two together form the *Jerusalem Talmud.* This Talmud has been published in one folio volume, is very obscure, and is now little used by the Jews. About two hundred years afterwards a far more extensive *gemara* was completed by the Babylonish doctors, which, with the Mishnah, forms the Babylonian Talmud. This work, which is published in twelve volumes folio, may be said to comprehend the whole literature and theology

a much more barbarous and corrupt character, being mixed up with a multitude of words borrowed from the Greeks, Latins, and other nations.[2]

When the Jews were in captivity in the land of Assyria, they did not dwell, as a separate community, in one place, as was the case with their forefathers in the land of Egypt, but were scattered in various parts of the country, and intermingled with their oppressors.[a] Hence it almost necessarily followed that they lost the current use of their pure and ancient Hebrew, and adopted the language of the people amongst whom they were held in bondage. This fact is stated by Jewish writers,[b] and is confirmed by various passages in the New Testament, from which it appears that the language which the Jews spoke, at the Christian era, was not Hebrew, but Syriac or Chaldee. On their return from captivity therefore, when the law of Moses was publicly read amongst them, it became necessary that the Hebrew text should be interpreted in Chaldee for the benefit of the congregation. This appears to have been the case on that memorable occasion when Ezra

[a] Vid. Ezr. i, 4; Esth. ix, 2. [b] *Kimchi*, and *Elias Levita*, as quoted by *Prideaux, Conn.* vol. i, p. 263.

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of the Rabbinical Jews. The Karraite Jews, however, reject these traditions, and adhere exclusively to the written law of Moses.

An admirable digest of the Talmud may be found in the Yad Hachazekah, or "Strong Hand" of Maimonides. For a full account of the Talmuds, see *Prideaux Conn.* fol. ed. vol. i, 254-259.

[2] The Chaldaic language, after the return of the Jews from captivity, became divided into three dialects, nearly resembling one another—The *Babylonian*, spoken by the Chaldees themselves, the most corrupt form of which is found in the Babylonian Talmud; the *Jerusalem dialect*, which the Jews spoke, and which was distinguished by an intermixture of Hebrew words; and the *Syriac*, which was written in a character differing from that of the two former, and was the language used in Commagene, at Antioch, and throughout Syria: vid. *Walton's Prolegom. in Bibl. Polyg.* xiii; *Prid. Conn.* fol. ed. vol. ii, p. 420.

convened the people at Jerusalem, and read to them the law of Moses "from the morning until midday;" for the scribes and Levites who were with him, and united in service, "caused the people to *understand* the law." Again, it is said, that "they read in the book in the law of God *distinctly*, and *gave the sense* and caused them to *understand* the reading."[a] The Talmudists assure us that the word here rendered "distinctly" (מְפֹרָשׁ) denotes the use of Targum or *translation into Chaldee.* That the whole passage indeed, indicates this kind of interpretation, may be concluded from the consideration that the words of the law of Moses are extremely plain in themselves, and that nothing was likely to render them so obscure to the people, as to require the *sense to be given,* except the circumstance of their being written in a language which the Jews only partially understood.[b]

It is generally believed that a similar practice prevailed in the *synagogue worship* of the Jews, which is supposed to have been instituted in the time of Ezra. Amongst the ministers of the congregation there appears to have been one who held the office of interpreter.[c] "From the days of Ezra," says Maimonides, "they were accustomed to employ an interpreter, who might interpret to the people that which the *reader* had previously read to them out of the law, in order that they might understand the sense of the words."[d] Dean Prideaux assures us that the Hebrew text of the law and the prophets was divided into verses, for the express purpose of affording to this officer in the synagogue an opportunity, at the end of every short sen-

[a] Neh. viii, 1—8. [b] Vid. *Talm. Bab. Nedarim.* fol. 37, 2. *Megillah*, fol. 3, 1. *Walton Polyg. Proleg.* xii, and *Gill*, in loc. [c] *Prid. Conn.* fol. ed. vol. i, p. 306. [d] *Tephil.* cap. 12. *Walton Prolegom.* xii.

tence, of reciting, to the people, in Chaldee, what had just before been read to them in Hebrew. He informs us that the rule given on the subject in the Mishnah, is as follows—that "in the law, the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render the same in Chaldee; but that in the prophets, the reader was to read three verses together, and then the interpreter was to render the same three verses into Chaldee in the same manner."[3]

In process of time the Targum, as well as the Hebrew text, was *read* out of a written book, which *Elias Levita* states to have been the usage of the Jews from ancient times down to the period when he himself lived, viz. the first part of the sixteenth century; and he points out the Targum of Onkelos as the one which they were accustomed to read.[a]

There can indeed be little doubt that the practice of publicly interpreting the Scriptures, in Chaldee, would lead to the composition of written Targums for the help of the interpreters. And, if it be true, as Maimonides states, that the Jews, after their return from captivity, were enjoined to obtain copies of the Scriptures for their private and domestic use, this circstance also would almost infallibly give birth to translations of the Hebrew text into that dialect which was

[a] In *Lex. Chald. Prid. Conn.* vol. ii, p. 416.

[3] Vid. *Prid. Conn.* fol. ed. vol. i, p. 264. *Mishnah in Tract. Megilla*, c. 4. *Tract. Sopherim*, c. 11. On the first establishment of the synagogue worship, the law only was read to the congregation; but when Antiochus Epiphanes forbad the reading of the law, the Jews substituted lessons or sections out of the prophets; and after the deliverance wrought for them by the Maccabees, both the law and the prophets were read in the synagogues: see *Prid. Conn.* i, p. 263. *Hottingeri Thesaurus*, lib. i, c. 2. This custom unquestionably prevailed during the ministry of our Saviour and his apostles: vid. Luke iv, 18; Acts xiii, 15.

alone familiar to the people.[4] On the whole, therefore, it is extremely probable, that at the Christian era, and even before that period, many such written translations or paraphrases existed, the greater part of which are now lost.

The principal Targums now extant are as follows. 1. That of Onkelos on the Pentateuch. 2. That of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on the remaining historical books, with the exception of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; and on the Prophets, with the exception of Daniel. 3. A Targum on the Pentateuch, ascribed by some persons to the same Jonathan, but written in a style which, from its corruption, indicates a different author, at a less ancient date. 4. The Jerusalem Targum, on various detached parts of the Pentateuch. 5. The Targum ascribed to Joseph the blind, (or the one-eyed) on Job, Psalms, and Proverbs. 6. The Targum of an unknown author, on the Megilloth, i. e. on Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther.[5] There is also a second Targum on Esther, and one, discovered in modern times, on the two books of Chronicles.

The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel have long been held in high repute amongst the Jews. They tell us that Jonathan was the most favoured disciple of Hillel, who is said to have been president of the Sanhedrim, one hundred years before the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans, that is, thirty years before the Christian era. They even declare, that this Jo-

[4] Vid. *Maimonides in Tephil.* cap. 7. *Prid. Conn.* vol. ii, p. 414. Buxtorf speaks of having inspected a very ancient manuscript of the Pentateuch, in which each verse is written alternately in Hebrew and Chaldee. A similar manuscript was known to Walton: vid. *Walton's Prolegom.* xii, § 6.

[5] These Targums are all contained in *Walton's Polyglott.*

nathan was equal to Moses, and that while engaged in the composition of his Targum, he was under such miraculous protection, that if a fly lighted on his paper, it was immediately destroyed, without any injury to the material, by fire from heaven. Onkelos, according to the Jews, was the fellow disciple of Jonathan, but younger than he, for he is spoken of by them as having assisted at the funeral of Gamaliel, which took place eighteen years before the taking of Jerusalem, i. e. A. D. 52.[a]

Absurd as are the fables of the Jews respecting Jonathan, and doubtful as is the truth of their statements concerning Onkelos, we have no good reason for rejecting their general testimony respecting the antiquity of these Targums. Eichorn indeed suggests that their not being mentioned by the early Christian fathers, (amongst whom Origen, Epiphanius, and Jerom, were Hebrew scholars,) affords a presumptive evidence that at the date of these fathers they had no existence. But this negative argument is of little weight, as there can be no doubt that there existed, when those writers lived, *some* Chaldaic versions of the Scriptures, and yet it does not appear that *any such* are mentioned by them: and indeed, although Jerom in particular conversed much with Jewish Rabbies, there is reason to believe that they were very backward in communicating to him, or to any Christian enquirers, the stores of their own literature.[b] On the other hand the great antiquity of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan is strongly confirmed by internal evidence; for they are written in a far purer language than the Jews were accustomed to use, after a very few centuries of the

[a] *Prid. Conn.* vol. ii, p. 416—418. [b] *Prid. Conn.* vol. ii, p. 424.

Christian era had elapsed. So free indeed is the style of these compositions from a Rabbinical admixture of foreign words, that Prideaux is from this circumstance led to fix their date before the time when Judæa became a province of the Roman Empire. It ought however to be observed, that the Targum of Onkelos on the Law is still more free from impurities of style than that of Jonathan on the Prophets:—it is also more literal and faithful in representing the original, and on the whole bears the stamp of greater antiquity.

On a fair consideration of the whole subject, we may reasonably conclude that both these Targums were written at a period not very distant from the Christian era; but whether before or after the coming of Christ, it is impossible satisfactorily to decide.

The Jerusalem Targum, and that ascribed to Jonathan, on the Law, the Targum on the Megilloth, and the Targum of Joseph the One-eyed on the Hagiographa, are all of an uncertain date. On a comparison however of the style in which they are written with that of the Jerusalem Talmud, which was produced about A. D. 300, there is reason to believe, from the greater corruption of the language in which they are composed, that they are of a still more modern date.

Notwithstanding this fact however, they are considered, by biblical critics, to be documents of importance, as throwing light on many of the sayings of our Saviour and his disciples, with which some passages of these Targums remarkably correspond;[a] and since little or no change appears to have taken place in the theological opinions of the Jews during several centuries after Christ, they may be fairly em-

[a] *Prid. Conn.* vol. ii, p. 421.

ployed, together with the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, in elucidating these opinions at the time of the Christian era.[6] It is highly probable indeed, as Prideaux observes, that they are nothing more than fresh editions and retranslations of more ancient paraphrases, adapted, by the change of language and by the introduction of a variety of stories and traditions, to the condition and taste of the Jews at the time when they were severally published.[a]

Having premised these general observations on the date, character, and use of the Targums, I shall proceed to consider in what manner and degree these documents elucidate the doctrine of the apostle John respecting the WORD,—that WORD who WAS IN THE BEGINNING WITH GOD AND WAS GOD, and who in process of time "WAS MADE FLESH AND DWELT AMONGST US."[b]

That the Targumists make very frequent mention of the *Word of Jehovah*, has often been observed. The question is, whether their use of this term corresponds with that of the apostle, and whether it confirms his doctrine respecting the personality and deity of the Son of God? The result of such investigation as I have been able to make into this subject, is digested in the following observations.

1. By "the *word*" of God, the Targumists, like the inspired authors of the Hebrew Scripture, frequently signify that *wisdom, power, and operative energy* of

[a] *Prid. Conn.* vol. ii, p. 427. [b] John i, 1. 14.

[6] "Omnino autem quæ in scriptis Judæorum ad sextum saltem usque sæculum post C. N. exaratis occurrunt opiniones, eas omnes Christi certe ætate antiquiores esse judicandas docuit cel. Korrodi in libro absque nomine a se edito." (*Keil de Doctor. Vet. Eccles. culpa corruptæ per Platonicas sententias theologiæ liberandis.* p. 89.)

the Almighty by which he effects the various purposes of his will. Thus, Onkelos on Deut. xxxiii, 27, describes God *as having made the world by his word;* and the declaration of Jehovah, in Isa. xlv, 12, is paraphrased by Jonathan as follows: "*By my word also, I founded the earth, and by my power I reared the heavens.*"[a] In the Targum of Job xxxiii, 5, Elihu says, "The Spirit of the Lord made me and the *word of the Almighty established me.*" In the Targum of Job xxxvii, 10, the *word* of God is described as regulating the order of nature—*as giving forth the snow and the floods.* In the Targum of Ps. xviii, 15, God is represented *as sending forth his word as arrows for the destruction of his enemies;* and in various other passages of these paraphrases, *the word* is mentioned as the instrument by which Jehovah rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked.[b] In this use of the term *word* or *word of God*, the Chaldaic Paraphrasts are in accordance not only with the Hebrew Scriptures, but with the Apocryphal writings of the Alexandrian Jews. In the book of Wisdom, God is addressed as having "*made all things by his word,*"[c] and in other passages of the same book, the word of God is described as the *power* by which he *healed* his people and *destroyed* his enemies.[d] So also the author of Ecclesiasticus has declared in terms very similar to those of an apostle, that *by the word of God* "*all things consist.*"[e] The custom which was thus general amongst the early Jews, of using the term *word*, to denote the operative wisdom and power of the supreme Being, confirms the argument which has been deduced from similar

[a] *Jon.* on Isaiah xlviii, 13. [b] *Targ.* on Psalm lv, 24. *Jon.* on Jerem. xxiv, 6. Amos ix, 4. [c] ch. ix, 1. [d] ch. xvi, 12, xviii, 15. [e] ch. xliii, 26.—*comp.* Col. i, 17.

passages in the Old Testament, that the apostle, when he applied that title to Christ preexistent, intended to designate him as the Person *through whom all the wonderful works of God were effected.* We shall presently find, that there are passages in the Targums which still more forcibly corroborate this opinion.

II. The "*word*" of God, in the Targums, sometimes denotes the *mind, soul,* or *rational faculty* of the Divine Being, and answers to the Hebrew words לֵב or נֶפֶשׁ, thus in Gen. viii, 21, we read וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־לִבּוֹ —"and God said to his *heart*"—expressions which Onkelos has paraphrased "and God said in his *word.*" So in Isaiah i, 14, the Hebrew phrase שָׂנְאָה נַפְשִׁי "*my soul abhorreth,*" is rendered by Jonathan, "*my word abhorreth.*"[a] Since the *soul or rational faculty* of God is easily identified with God himself, it is probably from this meaning of the term *word,* that the Targumists were led into the practice, so generally prevalent amongst them, when writing of the Supreme Being, of rendering the personal pronouns in reference to *him,* by the expressions "my word, thy word," and "his word." Sometimes these expressions represent the pronouns affix, י, ך, and ו;[b] sometimes the emphatic pronouns, אֲנִי אֲנֹכִי אַתָּה הוּא. Thus, in Deut. i, 30, we read, "Jehovah your God, which goeth before you —*he* (הוּא) shall fight for you;" and in the Targum of Onk.—"Jehovah your God which goeth before you—*his word* shall fight for you."[7] On a similar principle the expression "word of Jah," which is employ-

[a] Similar instances may be found in Isa. xlii, 1; Jer. vi, 8, &c.

[b] See Psalm ii, 12, v, 11, &c.

[7] So *Onk.* on Deut. iv, 24; *Jon.* on Josh. xxiii, 3, 10; Isa. xliii, 5, &c. Dr. Lightfoot has remarked that the personal pronouns, as they relate to *men* as well as to Jehovah, are sometimes expressed in the

ed by these writers in so great a multitude of passages, often appears to be a mere synonyme for "Jehovah," simply denoting God *himself*. Thus those who swear "by Jehovah" are said in the Targums to swear "by *the word of Jah*;"[a] those who trust "in Jehovah," to trust "in *the word of Jah*;"[b] those who rejoice "in Jehovah," to rejoice "in *the word of Jah*;"[c] those who obey the commands "of Jehovah," to obey the commands "of *the word of Jah*;"[d] and various other examples might be produced to the same purpose.

III. There are, however, numerous passages in the Targums, in which the application of the term "*word of Jah*," to represent the Hebrew "Jehovah," must be explained on a somewhat different principle. We have already stated that the word of God denotes amongst the paraphrasts, not merely his mind, soul, or rational faculty, but that power and energy by which he works his will, and in which he is the *immediate helper* of his people. Accordingly, in a multitude of instances, the *Word of Jah*, as mentioned by these writers, denotes Jehovah in *the actual exercise of his power and providence*. The Targumists teach us that

[a] Gen. xxi, 23, xxiv, 3; Josh. ii, 12, &c. [b] Ps. xxxvii, 3, &c. [c] Ps. xxxii, 11, &c. [d] Joshua xxii, 3.

Targums by "my word, thy word," &c. The instances adduced by him do not, however, appear to be equivalent in force to the examples in which this mode of paraphrasing the personal pronouns is applied to Jehovah. Thus, in the Targum on Job xxvii, 3, Job is described as saying, "There is no breath in *my word*;" which may be intended to denote that his speech failed him. Again, in 2 Chron. xvi, 3—"There is a covenant between me and thee," is paraphrased by the Targumists, "there is a covenant between my word and thy word." Similar expressions are again paraphrased in the same manner in 2 Chron. xxiii, 16. Now in these instances there is an obvious reference to the *word* of the covenanting parties, which was understood to be reciprocally pledged. (*Hor. Heb.* in loc.)

it was the *Word of Jah* who created the world, inspired the Prophets, delivered the law, conducted the journeying Israelites, supported them under every difficulty, punished them for their iniquities, and drove out their enemies from before them. It is more particularly to be observed that this *Word of Jah* is represented as God actually *present* with his people; *conversing* with them, and in some extraordinary manner *revealed* and *manifested* to them.

The use of the term "*Word of Jah*" in the Targums, to represent the Hebrew "Jehovah," although frequent, is very far from being universal; and it is most commonly used with reference to those occasions, on which God is described in this peculiar character of a *present* or *manifested* Deity. Thus, those expressions so usual in the Old Testament, "Jehovah is *with* thee," "Jehovah shall be *with* him," &c. are in the Targums uniformly rendered "*the Word of Jah* is thy help," "*the Word of Jah* shall be his help," &c. To advert to some farther instances of this peculiar use of the term *Word of Jah*; we learn from the Targumists, that it was "the Word of Jah" who walked in the garden and whose voice was heard by Adam;[a] —who personally appeared to Abraham, as he sat in the plains of Mamre;[b]—who went before the people through the wilderness in the pillar of cloud and of fire;[c]—who was seen on Mount Sinai in his glory, and conversed face to face with Moses;[d]—who accompanied the Israelites into the land of Canaan for the purpose of expelling their enemies;[e]—who was the present witness of solemn agreements made betwixt

[a] *Onk.* and *Jon.* on Gen. iii, 8. [b] *Jerus. T.* Gen. xviii, 1. [c] *Jon.* Exod. xiii, 21, &c. [d] *Jon.* on Deut. iv, 33; *Onk.* on Deut. v, 5. [e] *Jon.* on Joshua xxiii, 13.

man and man ;[a]—who spoke with Job out of the whirlwind and restored him to his pristine happiness ;[b]—who was seen in vision on his throne of glory in the temple, by the prophet Isaiah.[c]

Jehovah in his glorious and visible appearances—that present Deity who, as it were, resided in the Holy of Holies, and who so often condescended to communicate immediately with his people, is by the Jews frequently denominated, "the *Shechinah*," or "the *Shechinah of Jah*,"—the word Shechinah (שְׁכִינָא) properly signifying "the *dwelling of God*" with his people. Now this "*Shechinah*," or glorious present Jehovah, is in the Targums frequently identified with the "*Word of Jah*." Thus in Jon. on Num. xxi, 5, we read that the people "imagined in their hearts and spake against *the Word of Jah*, and contended against Moses;" and in v, 7, we find them confessing their transgressions to Moses in the following words; "We have sinned, because we imagined and spake against the glory of *the Shechinah of Jah*, and contended against thee." Again, in Jonathan's Targum of Josh. xxii, 31, Phinehas thus addresses the children of Reuben and Gad: "This day do we know that the *Shechinah of Jah* is dwelling in the midst of us, because ye have not prevaricated against the *Word of Jah*; and so ye have delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the *Word of Jah*." Here, as in the former instance, the terms, *Shechinah of Jah*, and *Word of Jah*, evidently denote the same present Deity; and both of them represent the name Jehovah of the Hebrew text.[d]

IV. It is plainly the doctrine of the apostle John,

[a] *Jon.* on Jud. xi, 10. [b] *Targ.* on Job xlii, 9—12. [c] *Jon.* on Isa. vi, 8. [d] Similar examples will be found in *Jon.* on Gen. xvi, 13. *Targ.* on Psalm xlvi, 6, 12. *Jon.* on Isa. vi, 5, 6, 8, &c.

that the Word to whom he ascribes the actions, attributes, and name of God, was in some respect distinct from God the Father: for he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was *with* God." Traces of the same doctrine may without difficulty be discovered in the writings of the Targumists, by whom this Shechinah or Word of Jah—*the present, operating Jehovah*—is on various occasions distinguished from Jehovah, *who sends him, and on whose behalf he acts.* Since this is the turning point of our argument, the reader will excuse the tedium of several successive quotations, by which that point appears to be clearly established.

Our first example relates to the creation—that divine work which by the Targumists is so frequently attributed to the *word of Jah.* In the Jerusalem Targum, Gen. i, 27, is paraphrased as follows: "And the *Word of Jah* created man in his own likeness—in a likeness from the presence of Jehovah (מִן קֳדָם יְהוָה) created he him."

The 18th and 19th chapters of Genesis describe an actual appearance of Jehovah, who came down to converse with Abraham, and to destroy Sodom. This *present Deity* is in the same Targum denominated, "the Word of Jah;" and Gen. xix, 24, in which verse we read that "*Jehovah* rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah, brimstone and fire *from Jehovah* out of heaven," is there paraphrased in the following explicit manner: "And the *Word of Jah* sent down upon them sulphur and fire (מִן קֳדָם יְהֹ) from the presence of *Jah* out of heaven."

In Gen. xx, 3, we read that "God came to Abimelech in a dream, and said to him, &c." Onkelos has here distinguished the divine Person who came to

Abimelech, from God who sent him. His paraphrase is as follows: "*And the Word from the presence of Jah* (or Jehovah) came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, &c."

On some occasions, the *Word of Jah* appears to be described by the Targumists as the person through whom *Jah*, or *Jehovah*, effects the redemption and salvation of his people. Isaiah xlv, 18—25, is paraphrased by Jonathan in the following striking language:—"These things saith *Jah*, who created the heavens: God himself who founded the earth, and made it, &c. *Look unto my Word*, and be ye saved, all ye who are in the ends of the earth: by my Word I have sworn: the decree is gone forth from me in righteousness, and shall not be in vain: because, before me every knee shall bow and every tongue swear. Howbeit, he (God) said to me (the prophet), that *by the Word of Jah* he would bring righteousness and strength.[8] *By his Word*, shall be confounded and brought to confusion, with their idols, all the nations who attacked his people. *In the Word of Jah* shall all the seed of Israel be justified and shall glory." This passage of the Targum appears plainly to import, that God, even the Father, originates the redemption of his people; and that the *Word of Jah* is a divine Person, to whom he commands all men to look for their salvation; because it is through him, that he promises to effect the great deliverance. Thus in Hos. i, 7, Jehovah says of the Prophet, "I will have mercy on the house of Judah, and will save them *by Jehovah their God*." Jonathan also, attributes these words to *Jehovah* (v. 4,) and paraphrases them, "I will take

[8] בְּרַם בְּמֵימְרָא דַיָּי עֲלַי אָמַר לְאַיְתָאָה זַכְוָן וּתְקוֹף

pity on the house of Judah, *and will save them by the Word of Jah their God.*" Again, Zech. x, 12—"And I will strengthen them *in Jehovah*, and they shall walk up and down in his name, *saith Jehovah*," is paraphrased by the same author—"And I will strengthen them by the *Word of Jah*, and in *his* name shall the *redeemed ones* walk, saith Jah (or Jehovah)."

The distinction observed in the several passages now cited from the Targums between Jehovah, by whom these various works of providence and love are *originated*, and the Word of Jehovah, by whom they are *carried into effect*, is perspicuous, and serves to illustrate the declaration of the apostle John respecting the Word. It is not perhaps too much to assert that the doctrine of the Targumists as unfolded in these passages and that of the apostle John i, 1—5, are *precisely the same*. We have however still stronger evidence to adduce in reference to our present subject of enquiry. The attentive reader of the Old Testament must be well aware of numerous passages in that sacred volume, which develop the character of a wonderful Person who performs many mighty works in behalf of God's people —a Person, who although generally denominated the Angel or Messenger of Jehovah, frequently assumes the attributes and even the incommunicable name of Jehovah himself. On the history of this divine Person, which will form the subject of a subsequent dissertation, we need not now enlarge. We have only to notice a circumstance, which in a satisfactory manner confirms our present argument respecting the Targumists; viz. that in various passages of their works, this mysterious Angel and the *Word of Jah* are identified. The following examples will, it is hoped, satisfy the reader of the truth of this observation.

Genesis ch. xvi, contains a remarkable account of the appearance of the Angel of Jehovah to Hagar in the wilderness. He addresses Hagar in the character of the Supreme Being (*v.* 10,) and in verse 13, we are informed that Hagar "*called the name of Jehovah that spake unto her,* thou God seest me: for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?" In the Targum of Jonathan, this verse is paraphrased—"And she returned thanks before Jehovah *whose Word* spake unto her; and thus she said, Thou art living and eternal who seest and art not seen; for she said after the vision, here has been revealed the glory of the *Shechinah* of Jehovah." In the Jerusalem Targum the same verse is paraphrased—"And Hagar returned thanks and prayed *in the name of the Word of Jah who had appeared to her, &c.*"[a]

In Gen. xxxi, 13, the Angel of Jehovah proclaims himself to be the God to whom Jacob vowed his vow at Bethel. Now according to Onkelos (whose use of the term *Word of Jah* is by no means common or indiscriminate) it was to the *Word of Jah* that the vow of Jacob was addressed. "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, if the *Word of Jah* will be my help, and will keep me in this way in which I am going, &c., then *shall the Word of Jah be my God.*"[b]

In Num. xxii, 35, the Angel who went forth to meet Balaam as he was riding on the ass, is described as saying to the prophet, "*Go with the men, but only the word that I shall speak to thee, that thou shalt speak.*" This verse is literally rendered by Onkelos. In ch. xxiii, 3, Balaam says, (in obvious reference to his late communication with the Angel) "I will go, *peradven-*

[a] See also *Targ. Jon.* on Gen. xxi, 17. [b] *Onk.* on Gen. xxviii, 20.

ture Jehovah will come to meet me, and whatsoever he sheweth me, I will tell thee." In *v.* 4, we read that "*God met Balaam and said unto him, &c.;*" and in *v.* 16, it is again declared that "*Jehovah met Balaam and put a word in his mouth and said, &c.*" Now the three passages last cited are rendered by Onkelos as follows: (*v.* 3) "I will go: perhaps *the Word from the face of Jehovah* will come to meet me, and the thing which he shall shew to me, I will declare unto thee:" (*v.* 4) "And *the Word from the face of Jehovah* met Balaam and said unto him, &c.:" (*v.* 16) "And *the Word from the face of Jehovah* met Balaam and put a discourse in his mouth and said to him, &c." Here the Word of Jehovah, (as in Gen. xx, 3,) is plainly described as a Person acting and speaking, and as distinct from Jehovah, from whose presence he came. Now on the comparison of these passages in the Targum, with the expressions of the Angel in ch. xxii, 35, (as quoted above) may we not conclude that Onkelos intended to identify this personal Word with that Angel?

The Jerusalem Targum on Exod. iii, 14—a passage in which *the Angel* is described as speaking to Moses out of the burning bush in the character of God himself—is as follows: "And the *Word of Jah* said to Moses—he who said to the world, Let it be and it was,[a] and who will say to it, Let it be, and it will be —and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, *I am* hath sent me unto you."

Jonathan on Isa. lxiii, 7, 8, 10, is very explicit to the same point. His paraphrase of that passage is as follows: "I will remember the kindness of *Jehovah* and the praise of *Jehovah*....for they are my people

[a] Comp. *Jerus. Targ.* Gen. i, 27.

(said *Jehovah)*; children who do not lie, and *his Word was their Redeemer.* Every time that they sinned before him so that he might have brought tribulation upon them, he did *not* afflict them, and the *Angel, sent from his presence, redeemed them;* in his love and his pity, behold he liberated them, and bore them and carried them all the days of old: but they would not obey.....*so his Word became their enemy and fought against them.*"

Lastly, the prophecy of Malachi respecting the coming of *the Lord—the Angel of the covenant*—to his own temple, is thus rendered by the same paraphrast: "Behold I send my messenger: and he shall prepare the way before me: and *suddenly* the Lord, whom ye seek, shall come to his temple; even *the Angel of the covenant,* whom ye desire: behold he shall come, saith Jehovah of Hosts. Who will sustain the day of his coming and who will stand when he shall be revealed? For his fury is like the melting fire and like the soap which bleaches. And he shall be revealed to purge by fire, &c. &c.; and *my Word* shall be for a *swift witness* against you—against the evil doers and against the adulterers, and against the perjured ones; and against those who rob the hired servant of his wages, and oppress the widow and orphan, and pervert the judgment of the stranger, and fear not before me, saith *Jehovah of Hosts.*"

It is surely very evident that in the former of these passages, the *Redeeming Word* is the same with the *Redeeming Angel;* and that in the latter, it is *one* divine Person, who is represented, *first,* under the name of the Angel as *suddenly* coming to his temple, as so terrible in his revealed presence, and as purifying the Israelites like metals in the fire; and *secondly,* under

the name of the *Word*—the swift and powerful witness against the various sins of that rebellious people.

It appears then, that by the phrase "Word of Jah" the Targumists sometimes denote the power or operating energy, and at other times the mind or rational faculty of the supreme Being—that hence this term is often employed by them as a synonyme for GOD—that nevertheless it generally points to Him, in his peculiar character of the ever present and ever acting Protector and Helper of his people—and lastly that there are in the Targums, numerous passages in which the *Word of Jah* is described as a Person possessing the attributes and performing the works of Deity, and yet distinguished from Jehovah, as one *sent* is distinguished from one *sending*.

When therefore the apostle John employed the title Λόγος, WORD, in order to describe our Saviour, as one, whose name was the name of God, and whose works were the works of God; but who was nevertheless, in some respects, distinct from God, even the Father, *with* whom he was in the beginning, and *by* whom he was sent into the world—he made use of language which was probably very intelligible to many of his countrymen, and of the signification of which, *their* known views of the subject may now enable *us* to form a correct estimate.

The object which I have proposed to myself, in pursuing the present detailed inquiry, will not be misconstrued by the candid reader. It is not that the authority of the Targumists is of any importance in itself, for settling the truth or fallacy of a Christian doctrine; but only that the manner in which these Jews were accustomed to write, and the views which they

entertained respecting a particular subject, afford an excellent criterion by which we may be assisted in determining the meaning of *another Jew*, when he applied to the same subject, a precisely similar phraseology.

Whether the Targumists considered the *Word of Jah* to be the Messiah, is a question, which, by the biblical critic, must be regarded as of secondary importance. The testimony of the apostle John on this point, is on all hands allowed to be too clear to admit of dispute;[a] nor can it be rendered clearer by any critical investigations respecting the opinions of his countrymen. The enquiry is however one of considerable interest. I am not aware of any passages in the Targums which indicate the sentiments of their authors on this subject, except only in the Jerusalem Targum, and in that of Jonathan on the Prophets.

In one passage of the former, the "Word of Jah" and the "King Messias," appear to be mentioned as different persons; "Moses," says this strange writer, "will come forth from the midst of the desert, and the King Messias from the midst of Rome. The one will go before in the cloud; and so will the other go before in the cloud; and the *Word of Jah* will be a leader between them both."[b]

On the other hand, in the Targum of Jonathan, which is a far more ancient and important authority, there appear to be some indications of the doctrine, that the Word of Jah was the Messiah in his preexistent character. Thus in his Targum of Isa. lxiii, 8—13, Jonathan, in conformity with the other paraphrasts, has plainly spoken of the *Word of Jah, as the guide and deliverer of the Israelites, during their*

[a] John i, 14, 15, 29, 30.—*comp.* iv, 26, &c. [b] Exod. xii, 42.

journey through the wilderness: and in his Targum of Isa. xvi, 1, he appears to have ascribed the same offices to the Messiah. "Let them" says he, "bring presents to the Messiah of Israel, who was strong for those who were in the desert—the Mountain (or Rock) of the assembly of Zion."[9] We have already cited certain passages from the Targum of this author, in which he ascribes to the Word of Jah the justification, redemption, and salvation, of the people; and it is hardly to be supposed that a Jewish writer of so early a period would thus express himself, without intending some reference to the Messiah whom the Jews, at the Christian æra, undoubtedly expected in the character of a Deliverer, Redeemer, and Saviour.[a] Again, it has been observed that in his Targum of Malachi's prophecy respecting the coming of the Angel of the Covenant, Jonathan appears to have indentified that divine Person with the *Word of Jah.* Now it is allowed by modern Jews,[b] and was in all probability the opinion of their forefathers,[c] that "the Angel of the Covenant," mentioned in this prophecy, is the *Messiah.*

Lastly, we are informed by Fagius[d] and by Galatinus, that, in his Targum on the Psalms, (now no longer extant) Jonathan paraphrased the words of David in Psalm cx—"Jehovah said unto my Lord"—by "*Jah said to his Word.*" We have the most decisive authority for asserting, that the Jews who were cotemporary with Christ, explained this prophecy of the

[a] Luke i, 68, 69, ii, 30—32. [b] So *Kimchi* and others. Vid. *Gill* in loc. [c] Matt. xi, 10. [d] On Deut. v.

[9] יהוֹן מסקי מסין למשיחא דישראל דיתקוף על דהוו במדברא טור כנשתא דציון.

Messiah[a]; and if we can depend upon the statement of Fagius and Galatinus, we may safely conclude that, in the opinion of Jonathan, the *Word of Jah* and the *Messiah* were the same Person. Galatinus quotes as his authority the following passage of a certain Jewish book entitled the Sepher Kibucim, or "the book of collections of the sentences of the holy wise men:" —"Rabbi Jodan, in the name of Rabbi Hama, said, In the future time, the holy and blessed God will cause the King Messiah to sit down on his right hand; as it is said in Psalm cx, 'Jehovah said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand;' *which the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel thus explains: God said to his Word, Sit thou on my right hand.*"[b]

[a] Matt. xxii, 44; Mark xii, 36.

[b] *De Arcan. Cath. Verit.* lib. iii, cap. 4.

No. 9.

On the Creation of all things by the Word or Son of God.

JOHN i, 3. Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν. "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." *Eng. Trans.* "Omnia per manum ejus fuere, et sine ipso ne unum quidem fuit, quidquid fuit." *Syr.* "Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est." *Vulg.*

The editors of U. N. V. assert that this passage bears no allusion at all to *creation.* They render the apostle's words as follows: "All things were *done* by him; and without him was not any thing *done* that hath been *done:*" and, in their note upon the passage, after quoting the version of Archbishop Newcome, who explains these words as relating to the visible creation, they make the following observations:—"This is a sense which the word ἐγένετο *will not admit.* Γίνομαι occurs upwards of 700 times in the New Testament, but never in the sense of *create.* It signifies in this gospel, where it occurs 53 times, to be, to come, to become, to come to pass: also *to be done or transacted.*[a] It has the latter sense in Matt. v, 18; vi, 8; xxi, 42; xxvi, 6: all things in the Christian dispensation were *done* by Christ, i. e., by his authority and according to his direction; and in the ministry committed to his apostles, nothing has been done without his warrant."

[a] Chap. xv, 7; xix, 36.

We cannot be at a loss in detecting the fallacy of these observations. Although γενέσθαι—a verb in the middle voice—never occurs in the sense of the active verb *to create;* it may without any impropriety be rendered by the passive—*to be created.* The very same licence by which, in some passages, γενέσθαι is rendered "to be done," in others, justifies its being translated "to be *made* or *created.*" The fact of the case is simply this; that the signification of the middle verb γενέσθαι is gigni, nasci, oriri,—*to come into existence;* and that, while we keep this proper meaning of the term in our view, we may without inaccuracy vary the translation of it, according to the subjects to which it is applied. Thus, children are said γενέσθαι (to come into existence)—when they *are born:* events—when they *come to pass:* actions or works—when they are *done* or *performed:* substances—when they are *made* or *created.*

In the plurality of those 700 examples of the use of this verb in the New Testament to which the editors have alluded, it is easy to trace its original signification of *coming into existence.* The reason why, among those examples, there are but few in which the verb describes *being created,* is very plain: namely that the *creation of things* is a subject which (comparatively with the frequent use of γενέσθαι) is seldom adverted to in the New Testament; and, when adverted to, is sometimes described by means of other verbs—as κτίζειν or ποιεῖν. There are however in the New Testament four distinct passages, besides that now under discussion, in which γενέσθαι, as applied to things, substances or beings, is properly rendered *to be made or created.* The first is John i, 10, a passage hereafter to be considered: the second is Acts xix, 26, where

Paul is described as saying that "they are not Gods which are *made* with hands;"—*οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι*: the third is Hebrews xi, 3; "through faith we understand that the worlds were made by the word of God, *so that things which are seen, were not made of things which do appear*—*μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὰ βλεπόμενα γεγονέναι*: and lastly in James iii, 9, we read of "men *made* after the similitude of God"—*ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ γεγονότας*.[a]

In the Septuagint version of Gen. i and ii,—to which part of the Greek Scriptures, *above all others*, a critic ought to refer, in order to ascertain by what expressions a Hellenistic writer would describe creation—the verb *γενέσθαι* repeatedly occurs in that sense of *being created*, which the editors (in their note on John i, 10) declare to be inadmissible "*because the word never bears it.*"[b] In Gen. ii, 4 more particularly the verb *ἐγένετο* represents the Hebrew נִבְרָא "creatus est." *Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο*, "this is the book of the Creation of the heaven and the earth, when (these things) were created"—Heb. בְּהִבָּרְאָם.

By other Hellenistic writers the same verb is used, sometimes in the passive but more usually (as by the apostle) in the middle voice, to describe *creation*. Thus the author of the Book of Wisdom says of the idolater, *Θεὸν μάταιον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πλάσσει πηλοῦ ὃς πρὸ μικροῦ ἐκ γῆς γεννηθείς*—"He forms a vain god out of the same clay, who was himself so shortly before *made* of the earth:"[c] and Philo, who repeatedly denominates *creation* *γένεσις*, and *things created*, *τὰ γινόμενα*, writes as follows: *χρόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἢ μετ' αὐτόν*—"time did not exist be-

[a] *Comp.* Gen. i, 27. [b] See Sept. Gen. i, 3, 9, &c.
[c] Chap. xv, 8.

fore the world, but was either *created* with it or after it."[a] The same mode of expression was prevalent among the early Greek fathers. Justin asserts that Plato, as well as the christians, learned from Moses the doctrine "*that the whole world was created by the word of God*"—λόγῳ Θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πάντα κόσμον.[b] And again, when speaking of the origin of men's souls, he says, εἰ δ' ὁ κόσμος γενητὸς, ἀνάγχη καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς γεγονέναι—"*but if the world was created, it follows of necessity that souls must have been created also.*"[c] Tatian, when describing the true God, says, Πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γεγόνεν οὐδὲ ἕν—"all things were of him; and without him was not any one thing *created.*"[d] Theophilus of Antioch thus writes of the Supreme Being and his Word: Πρὸ γὰρ τὶ γίνεσθαι, τοῦτον εἶχε σύμβουλον—"before any thing was *created*, he (God) had him (the Word) for a partaker in his counsels."[e] Lastly, Athenagoras represents the Maker of the world, as placed above the things which were *created* by him—ἀνωτέρω τῶν γεγονότων.[f] In the writings of heathen Greek authors, examples may be found of a similar use of the verb γενέσθαι. Thus Amelius, in a passage hereafter to be adduced, denominates *that which has been created*, τὸ γενόμενον:[g] and one of Aristotle's chapters *de cœlo* is written to prove, ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἢ γενόμενόν ποτε ἄφθαρτόν τι διατελεῖν, ἢ ἀγέννητον ὂν καὶ ἀεὶ πρότερον ὂν φθαρῆναι· "that it is impossible, that any thing which *has been created* should remain for ever uncorrupted; or that any thing *uncreated*, and which

[a] *De Mundi Opif.* p. 5. *d.* Ed. Gelenii, Paris, 1640. [b] *Apol.* i, Ed. Ben. 78. *d.* [c] *Dial, cum Tryph.* Ed. Ben. p. 107. *c.* [d] *Contra Græc. Orat.* Ed. Ben. Justin. p. 261. *b.* [e] *Ad. Autolyc.* lib. ii, Ed. Ben. Justin. p. 365. *b.* [f] *Leg. pro Christianis*, Ed. Ben. Justin, p. 285. *d.* [g] Vid. *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. ix, cap. 19.

has always existed beforehand, should be destroyed."[a]

The peremptory note of the Editors of U. N. V. which has given occasion to these remarks, inculcates the notion, that the commonly received version of the words πάντα ἐγένετο, in John i, 3,—"all things *were made*"—is destitute of any support from other passages of Scripture, and is inconsistent with the known idiom of the Greek tongue. The quotations which have now been made, are sufficient to prove the fallacy of this notion. That surely cannot by any fair critic be deemed an improper or unusual mode of expression, which is familiarly adopted by so many different writers—by Luke, John, James, and Paul: by the authors of the Septuagint version: by the author of the book of Wisdom and by Philo: by Aristotle and Amelius: by Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, and the Greek fathers in general.

As far as the question respecting the verb γενέσθαι is concerned, it must be allowed, (in direct contrariety to the opinion of the Editors) that the common English version of John i, 3, represents the original with perfect fairness. Now that the version which, on mere philological grounds, is thus unexceptionable, presents *the only true meaning* of the passage, is confirmed by the following considerations.

I. The title Word, which is here applied to our Saviour, carries with it an especial allusion to this very doctrine—that by him, God created all things. *That God created by his word* is a truth declared in the Hebrew Scriptures;[b] in the Apocrypha;[c] and as appears from the preceding note, in the Jewish Targums. Philo Judæus, more particularly, has described the Word

[a] *De Cœl.* lib. i, cap. 12. [b] Gen. i, 3; Ps. xxxiii, 6. [c] Wisd. ix, 1.

of God, as a *Person*, "through whom the whole world was fabricated;"[1] and a similar doctrine appears to be alluded to in the Jerusalem Targum.[2] The author of the book *Sohar*, (who according to Schoetgeen[a] identifies the Word of God with the Messiah,) declares, as has been already noticed, that the Spirit of God, which in the beginning moved "upon the face of the waters,"[b] was the Spirit *of the King Messiah*.[c] Nor are we to forget the testimony which has been borne to the same truth by that inspired Jew, the apostle Paul.[d] When therefore we find the evangelist denominating the Son of God, the Word—*the Word who was with God in the beginning, and was God*—we cannot but perceive how probable it is, that he thereby intended to represent Him in the character of *Creator*. But when he goes a step farther, and makes use of certain terms which, according to the known phraseology of other Hellenistic writers, plainly convey the idea that by this Word "all things *were made*," —his meaning becomes too clear to be mistaken, and we cannot otherwise interpret the words which he thus introduces, without sacrificing the plainest principles of a sound criticism.

Here it is by no means irrelevant to observe, that the apostle's assertion as thus interpreted, is not only accordant with the opinions prevalent among the Jews; but coincides precisely with declarations made on the same subject by some of the earliest Christian wri-

[a] *Schoetgeen de Messiâ*, p. 911. [b] Gen. i, 2. [c] *Zohar* in Gen. xlix, 11, as cited by Kuinoel *in Lib. Hist. N. T.* vol. iii, p. 87. [d] See Col. i, 16; Heb. i, 2.—*comp.* Heb. xi, 3.

[1] Δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο. *Alleg.* lib. i. vid. Whitby in loc.

[2] See *Jerus. Targ.* on Gen. i, 27—"Et creavit *Verbum Domini* hominem in similitudine suâ, in similitudine a *facie Domini*, creavit eum." See also the same Targum on Exod. iii, 14.

ters. Passages to this effect have been selected by Bishop Bull from that ancient epistle attributed to Barnabas; from the Pastor of Hermas (a work of the first century); and from the writings of Justin (A. D. 140), Tatian (A.D. 172), Athenagoras (A.D. 177), and Irenæus (A.D. 175.)[3] Little as we may be disposed to ascribe, to these early ecclesiastical writers, any thing of plenary authority, we must allow that their doctrine, (as well as that of Philo and the Targumists) respecting the creation of all things by the Son or Word of God, throws an important light on the meaning of the apostle in the passage before us.

II. Various commentators have remarked, that the apostle John, in the commencement of his gospel, has

[3] *Barnabas* declares that it was Christ to whom God said, "Let us make man in our image, &c.:" and he also speaks of "the Sun" as "the work of the hands" of the Son of God: cap. iv, 5. *Bullii Def. Fid. Nic.* cap. ii, § 1, p. 16.

Hermas says, "Filius quidem Dei omni creaturâ antiquior est, ita ut in consilio Patri suo adfuerit ad condendam creaturam:" *Simil.* ix, *Bull.* p. 18.

Justin Martyr, after speaking of God, the Father, writes as follows, respecting his Son: ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱὸς ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὁτὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε—"But his Son, who is alone properly so described, is the Word who was begotten and was with God before the creatures, for by him in the beginning God created and adorned all things:" *In Apol.* i, *Bull.* p. 20.

Tatian says, Λόγος γὰρ ὁ ἐπουράνιος, πνεῦμα γεγονὼς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς .....εἰκόνα τῆς ἀθανασίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησε—"For the heavenly Word who was begotten of the Father and is a Spirit, created man the image of his own immortality:" *Orat. contra Græcos Bull.* p. 20.

Athenagoras, speaking of the Father, says, τὸ πὰν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λόγου καὶ διακεκόσμηται καὶ συγκρατεῖται—"The universe was adorned and established *by his Word.*" Soon afterwards he calls the Son, συμπάντων ἰδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια—"the original form and power of all things." *Ad calcem Just. Mart. Bull.* p. 21.

Irenæus says, "Sed nec quicquam ex his quæ constituta sunt et in subjectione sunt comparabitur Verbo Dei, per quem facta sunt omnia qui est Dominus Noster, Jesus Christus:" Lib. iii, cap. 8. *Bull.* p. 21.

alluded to the first part of the book of Genesis. It was the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament which he was accustomed to peruse, and from which he habitually quoted; and it is on the comparison of the Septuagint Version of Gen. i, with the words of the gospel, that the allusion in question is most clearly discerned. No one indeed can compare the two passages, without perceiving the reference of the one to the other. The Septuagint Version of Gen. i, is opened in a deliberate manner with the words Ἐν ἀρχῇ, ("in the beginning")—John commences his gospel in a manner equally deliberate *with the same words*. From Gen. i, 3, 6, &c. we find that in this "beginning" God repeatedly *expressed his will and spake the word;* and accordingly, we learn from John, that "In the beginning *was the Word, and the Word was with God.*" The apostle, in the next place, proceeds to inform his readers, that by this Word "all things were made"—πάντα ἐγένετο: and, on a reference to Genesis, we find that when God *said*, Let there be light, *the light was created*—ἐγένετο φῶς: that when God *said*, Let there be a firmament, *it was so*—ἐγένετο οὕτως,—that when God *commanded* the sea and the dry land to be separated, the flowers to grow, and the stars to shine, *it was so*—ἐγένετο οὕτως. So far, the apostle's reference is clear and explicit. But there still remains another point of comparison between the two passages. On perusing the whole of the chapter in Genesis, we find that before *every* successive particular of the creation, the *word* or *command* of God was repeated, and that after that *word* was spoken, the effect was produced—ἐγένετο οὕτως. Now this peculiarity is perspicuously marked by the apostle, who after asserting that all things were made by the word, adds, "and without him was not *any thing*

made that was made"—*καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν.*

Since then the apostle in his declaration, that *by the Word* "*all things were made,*" has manifestly alluded to that history of the *creation of the universe,* which is detailed in the Septuagint Version of the book of Genesis, and since he has borrowed the use of that very verb which is there so repeatedly employed to express *being created*—it must surely be allowed that the *creation of the universe by the Word* was the doctrine which he intended to promulgate. In no other sense could this passage be understood by his cotemporary readers, amongst many of whom the doctrine in question was already known, and who were probably so much accustomed to the perusal of the Septuagint, that they could not fail to perceive the apostle's allusion to the words of that version.

III. The commonly received interpretation of John i, 3, is, in the third place, illustrated and confirmed by verse 10, in which the Evangelist, with some modification, repeats the same doctrine, in terms still less liable, if possible, to any misconstruction. After describing Christ the Word, as the "true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," he adds; *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω*—"He was in the world, and *the world was made* (*or came into existence*) *by him*; and the world knew him not." Between the words *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο* and *ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,* there is a conspicuous parallelism; nor will it be disputed by any reasonable critic, that they relate to the same general subject or doctrine. The words *δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο* more particularly, ought surely to be construed as having the same meaning in both these verses. Now, on the

supposition that the πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο of verse 3, (when considered by itself) might possibly signify that "all things under the gospel dispensation were *done by the Word*;" it is clear that no such meaning can attach to the parallel expressions in verse 10. There is no known sense of the substantive κόσμος, *world*; in which it would not be absurd to say "that the *world* was *done* by him."

That substantive, as used in this passage, is indeed differently interpreted by different critics. Schleusner is of opinion, that κόσμος here signifies *the universe*: Whitby and Kuinoel, that it denotes this lower world: Grotius interprets it of the inhabitants of the world in general: Slichtingius, of the Jewish people in particular. The word κόσμος, as used in the New Testament, may perhaps be capable of any of these senses; and it is sufficiently evident that whichever of them be here adopted, the passage must still be understood as declarative of one general doctrine. To say, that the universe, or this lower world, or mankind in general, or one part of mankind in particular, *came into existence or were made* by the Word, is to say, that the Word was the author or medium of God's physical creation. He who created the Jews, created all mankind: he who created mankind, created the world which mankind inhabits: he who created that world, created the universe. That κόσμος however does not here signify either *the inhabitants of the world in general* or *the Jews in particular*, is sufficiently clear. When we speak of the coming into existence, foundation or creation of the *world*, we do not mean by our substantive *world*, the inhabitants of the earth, but the earth including its inhabitants. So it is with the Greek word κόσμος, which, when used in connexion with adjuncts

expressive of its creation, uniformly signifies either *this lower world,* or the *universe* of which it forms a part.[a] It is true that John, after asserting that *the world* was made by the Word, adds, "and *the world* (i. e. the people of the world) knew him not:" but this is a transition in the meaning of the term κόσμος, by no means uncommon in the writings of this apostle. Thus in John xvii, 24, 25, our Lord is thus described as addressing his Heavenly Father—"Thou lovedst me before the foundation of *the world,* (i. e. of *the earth*). O righteous Father, *the world* (i. e. *the people of the earth*) hath not known thee."[b]

Those who conceive that ὁ κόσμος, in verse 10, is intended to be the exact parallel of πάντα in verse 3, will accede to the opinion of Schleusner, that it here signifies *the universe.*[c] Although however the third and tenth verses are so far parallel, that they plainly express the same general doctrine, it may nevertheless be stated less comprehensively in verse 10, than in verse 3; for in the latter instance, the immediate context leads us to interpret κόσμος of *this lower world* in particular. In the phrase which concludes the preceding verse—ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, (whether applied to Christ, τὸ φῶς, or, as in E. T., to every man, πάντα ἄνθρωπον, that *cometh into the world,*) the word κόσμος is best interpreted as signifying *this visible world,* into which the Son of God descended at his incarnation, and of which all men, *when they are born,* become inhabitants.[d] In the following clause—ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, ("he was in the world,") κόσμος has probably

[a] Matt. xiii, 35; xxiv, 21; John xvii, 5; Heb. iv, 3; 1 Pet. i, 20; [b] So also John iii, 17; xvii, 5, 6. [c] See *Schleusner,* in voc. [d] So Schleusner himself explains κόσμος as denoting "*terra, orbis terrarum,*" and observes, "huc etiam pertinet formula ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον, hoc est γεννᾶσθαι, nasci." In voc. No. 2.

still the same meaning; for the Son of God was, after a peculiar manner, in this visible world, both when he revealed himself to the patriarchs in his preexistent character, and after he became incarnate and dwelt with men. In verse 10, therefore, the apostle appears to declare, *that the world into which men come when they are born, and which the Son of God himself condescended to visit—that is, this lower world—was brought into existence or created by Christ; and that nevertheless, its inhabitants knew him not, or rejected him.*

Before we conclude our observations on John i, 10, it may be desirable shortly to notice the principal attempts which have been made to elude the force of this clear and decisive passage. 1. Socinus and Slichtingius explain it of the new or moral creation. *The world (that is the people of the world)* says the apostle, according to them, *was created (anew) by Christ the Word.* Now that the apostle's words are capable of no such meaning, is abundantly clear for three reasons: *first*, because in every single passage of Scripture in which this second creation is mentioned, its new, moral or spiritual character, is so plainly indicated as to preclude all mistake; whereas in John i, 10, there is no indication of the kind:[a] *secondly*, because it is not true, either of mankind, or of the Jewish people in general, that they were created *anew* by Christ Jesus; for those only are the subjects of that new creation, who are "born again,"[b] and who experience in themselves the power of redemption: *thirdly*, because, after declaring that the world was created by Christ, the apostle expressly adds, that "the

[a] See John iii, 3; 2 Cor. v, 17; Gal. vi, 15; Eph. ii, 10; iv, 24; Col. iii, 10. [b] John iii, 3.

world *knew him not* (or rejected him):" but that part of the world or its inhabitants, who are the subjects of the *new* creation, are neither ignorant of their Saviour nor reject him: they know, love, worship, and obey, him!

2. Newcome Cappe, on grounds equally fallacious, renders the apostle's words, "and the world was made *for* him:" expressions which he paraphrases as follows: "yet though the *Jewish dispensation* was calculated to excite the expectation of him at this time, to reveal him, and to recommend him to their notice and their reverence, &c. &c.:" from this paraphrase it appears that Cappe would interpret κόσμος as signifying a dispensation; and the preposition διὰ as marking the *final* cause—that is, the object in order to which, or the person for whose sake, any thing is done It is almost needless to remark that such an interpretation of κόσμος is foreign from the meaning of the word. Cappe has failed to adduce a single example, in justification of his paraphrase: on the contrary, he soon afterwards himself asserts that κόσμος here signifies "the Jewish people."[a] Neither can διὰ, in this passage, with any justice be rendered "*for*;" or interpreted as denoting the *final* cause. That preposition, when used in such a sense, is followed not by the genitive but by the accusative case—a rule of construction which was very familiar to the writers of the New Testament, as the reader, on a reference to the concordance of Schmidius, will find proved by a very long list of examples. On the other hand, when διὰ in the New Testament denotes the effecting cause, whether *principal* or *instrumental*, it is generally followed, as in John i, 10, by a *genitive*. Of this usage I observe, on a re-

[a] See *Crit. Rem.* vol. i, pp. 10 and 50.

ference to the same concordance, more than *one hundred examples.* Of the infraction of the rule alluded to respecting διὰ, *when used to denote the final cause,* there is no instance in the writings of the apostle John, and probably none in the whole New Testament. In the passage before us there is certainly nothing to indicate so ungrammatical a use of the preposition; but on the contrary the usual interpretation of διὰ with a genitive, as signifying the *effecting* cause, is there plainly confirmed by collateral evidence; for the apostle is obviously alluding to the doctrine of Moses, of the Psalmist, and of the Jews in general, that *the world was framed* BY *the Word of God.*[a]

3. We have, in the last place, to notice the contrivance of the Editors of U. N. V., who in their version of the words ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, have deserted that interpretation of the verb ἐγένετο, by which they have endeavoured to explain the parallel passage in the third verse, and ascribe to it the sense of our auxiliary verb "*was.*" In order to fill up the chasm which is thus produced, they advance a step farther and UNDERSTAND the participle πεφωτίσμενος, "enlightened!" Accordingly they render the passage—"the world *was (enlightened)* by him." It may be questioned whether a more palpable dereliction of the fair interpretation of Scripture was ever attempted, than by the Editors on this occasion. Who does not perceive that in the two similar and nearly connected phrases, πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, (in ver. 3,) and ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, (in ver. 10,) the verb ἐγένετο must have the *same* meaning? Who is not aware, that had ἐγένετο been here used as a mere auxiliary verb, the participle, which it was intended to introduce, *must have been expressed;*

[a] *Comp.* Heb. xi, 3.

that otherwise, the apostle would have left his doctrine to be settled, not by the plain word of truth, but by the caprice and imagination of his readers? We might, in such a case, UNDERSTAND the participle "burnt" or "destroyed," with nearly as much critical propriety, as the participle "enlightened."

On the whole, it will, I trust, be apparent to the impartial reader, that the attempts which have been made by modern Unitarians to explain away the force of John i, 3 and 10, can be considered only as confirming, by their manifest inconclusiveness, the commonly received interpretation of those passages—namely, that *the visible* or *physical creation was effected by the power of the Word*—that Word who was "with God in the beginning," and who afterwards "was made flesh" and dwelt amongst men. It is in this sense that the words of the apostle appear to have been universally understood by the ancient fathers.

"There is one omnipotent God," says Irenæus, who created and arranged all things, and formed them out of nothing by his Word, as the Scripture saith. By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth; and, again, *All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.*"[4] From another passage in the works of this father, it appears that even the Gnostics interpreted the apostle's words as declarative of the doctrine that all other æons or spiritual beings owed *their existence and formation to the Word.*[5] Clement

[4] "Quia sit unus Deus omnipotens qui omnia condidit per Verbum suum et aptavit, et fecit ex eo quod non erat, ad hoc ut sint omnia, quemadmodum Scriptura dicit, &c.:" *Contra Hær.* lib. 1, cap. xxii, Ed. Ben. p. 98.

[5] Πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀιῶσι μορφῆς καὶ γενέσεως αἴτιος ὁ Λόγος ἐγένετο. *Contra Hær.* lib. 1, cap. 8. § 5. Ed. Ben. p. 41.

of Alexandria adduces the passage to prove that Christ was both God and *Creator*.[6] "Neither," says Origen, "is the term Almighty improperly applied to the Saviour, for if '*all things were made by him*,' and he was 'before all things,' it follows that he is Almighty."[7] Similar references to this passage, as relating to the creation of all things by the Word, might be multiplied to a great extent.[a]

To the testimony of these and many other fathers, may be added that of Amelius, a heathen Platonic philosopher, who lived in the third century, from whose works Eusebius has quoted the following remarkable passage:[8] "And this indeed was that Eternal Word, by which *created things were made*. Such was the sentiment of Heraclitus; and that Barbarian moreover (meaning the apostle John) is of opinion, that the Word was established in the order and dignity of the beginning—that he was with God and was God

[a] See, for example, *Tertullian adv. Hermog.* Ed. Semler. tom. ii, p. 108. *adv. Praxeam*, tom. ii, p. 200.—*Adamantius de Rect. Fid.* sec. 4.—*Orig. Op.* Ed. Ben. tom. i, p. 850.—*Novatian de Rect. Fid.* cap. xiii. Ed. Jackson, p. 94, cap. xiv, p. 107.—*Basil adv. Eunom.* lib. III, cap. vii. Ed. Ben. i, 278.—*Athanasius contra Arian.* Orat. ii. Ed. Colon. i, 326.—*Eusebius Prep. Evang.* lib. VII, cap. xii. Ed. Colon. p. 322.—*Chrysostom, in Matt.* Hom. xxii. Ed. Ben. tom. vii, 276.—*Theophylact*, in loc. &c. &c.

6 Παρῆσται δὲ ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ δημιουργός· Πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. *Pædag.* lib. I, cap. xi. Ed. Ben. tom. i, p. 156.

7 Εἰκότως ἡ παντοκράτωρ φωνὴ τοῦ σωτῆρος κατηγορηθείη· εἰ γὰρ πάντα δι' αὐτὸν γέγονε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστι πρὸ πάντων, ἀκολούθως παντοκράτωρ λέγεται. *Sel. in Psalm.* xxiii. Ed. Ben. tom. ii, p. 628. See also, *De Princip.* lib. I, cap. x. Ed. Ben. tom. i, p. 58.

8 Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ Λόγος καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τα γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσειε, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ καθεστήκοτα, πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι· δι' οὗ πάνθ'· ἁπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενόμενον ζῶν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ ὂν τεφυκέναι· καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φαντάζεθαι ἄνθρωπον, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα δεικνύειν τῆς φυσέως τὸ μεγάλειον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλύθεντα πάλιν ἀποθεοῦσθαι καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατάχθηναι.

—that by him all things were entirely made, and all that is life, or hath life or existence, was produced— that he illapsed into bodies, clothed himself in flesh, and appeared as man; so however that, even then, he displayed the dignity of his nature—and that after he departed from this world, he was again deified and was God, even as he was before his reduction into the body, the flesh, and the man."[a]

Nor ought our appeal to be made to the ancients alone. With the exception of professed Unitarian writers, the same unanimity prevails among modern critics, in favour of the opinion, that John i, 3, relates to the *physical creation* of all things by the Word. The modest and humble enquirer after scriptural truth will scarcely venture to dispute that interpretation of a sentence in the Greek Testament, which has not only received the sanction of the ancient fathers in general, but has been *unanimously* supported by modern commentators so deep in learning and so various in sentiment as the following:—Erasmus, Grotius, Beza, Calvin, S. Clarke, Hammond, Whitby, Pearson, Doddridge, Lightfoot, Gill, Newcome, Macknight, Campbell, Wetstein, Michaelis, Kuinoel, Rosenmüller, A. Clarke, and Schleusner; to whom might be added many others.

It appears then, that this passage presents our Saviour to our view as the *Author*, or *Medium*, of the creation of the universe. The preposition διὰ governing the genitive case, denotes the effecting cause of a thing; but whether that cause be original or instrumental, must be decided by the evidence of context.

"On a reference to the doctrine of the Jews, respecting the Word of God, (the title applied to our Lord

[a] *Euseb. prep. evang.* xi, 19.

in the preceding part of this passage,) I am inclined to the opinion that Christ preexistent is here described as the person *through* whom the universe was created; in which case the statement here made by the evangelist corresponds precisely with that of another inspired writer, on the same subject. 'God,' says the apostle, to the Hebrews, 'hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, BY WHOM ALSO HE MADE THE WORLDS.'[a] But in whichsoever sense we understand the preposition 'by' in John i, 3, 10, the fact thus recorded that the SON was himself the *Maker* of all things—that he actually wrought out *the whole creation* of God—affords, according to my apprehension of the subject, a satisfactory and decisive evidence that he was not himself a creature—that, on the contrary, he really participated in the nature of the Father. It is by the visible works of the creation, as the apostle Paul has declared, that 'the eternal power and godhead' of Jehovah are demonstrated to our understanding;[b] and nothing, I would submit, can be more improbable in natural theology, or more at variance with revelation, than the notion, that God first created a particular being, and then employed that being as the creator of the rest of the universe. 'I am Jehovah that maketh all things, that stretcheth forth the heavens ALONE, that spreadeth abroad the earth by MYSELF:.....I am Jehovah, and there is none else.'"[c]

Since *all* created things were made by the Word—since without him nothing was made that was made—it seems clearly to follow, that he was himself UNCREATED, and therefore GOD.

[a] Heb. i, 2. [b] Rom. i, 20. [c] Isa. xliv, 24; xlv, 18.—*Comp.* Gen. i, 1. *Essays on Christianity*, x, p. 1. 2nd Ed. 8vo. p. 243.

No. 10.

God made the Worlds by his Son.

Heb. i, 1, 2. God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things—διʼ οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν—"*by whom also he made the worlds:*" *Eng. Trans.* "Per quem fecit et secula, i. e. mundum:" *Vulg.* So also *Arab. Syr.* and *Œthiop.* "Per quem secula condidit:" *Erasmus.* "Through whom also he made the world:" *Luther.* "Through whom also he made the worlds:" *Michaelis.* "Per quem etiam mundum condidit:" *Beza.* "By whom also he hath created the heaven and the earth:" *Hammond.*

In U. N. V. the last clause of verse 2 is rendered, in a very extraordinary manner,—"*for* whom also he *constituted the ages.*" The editors (after the example of Cappe on John i, 10) imagine that διὰ with a genitive here denotes the final cause. With respect to the noun αἰῶνες, which they render "ages," they quote the words of Dr. Sykes, who asserts that "this word *does not* signify the heavens and the earth and all things in them, but means properly ages or certain periods of time"—that is, according to the editors, "the Antediluvian, Patriarchal, and Mosaic ages *or dispensations.*" "These," say they, "were all intended

to prepare the way for the age or dispensation of the Messiah."

Upon each of these points a few observations will suffice. It has already been remarked that διὰ, governing a genitive, cannot with any propriety be rendered as indicating the *object in order to which, or the person for whose sake any thing is done;* for when this is the meaning of that preposition, the substantive which it governs appears to be uniformly placed in the accusative. On the present occasion the editors appeal to the authority of Grotius, who, with that bold inaccuracy, which may often be observed in his commentary on the epistles, translates the words δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν, "*propter* quem condiderat et secula." Grotius, who supposes that the apostle alludes to an ancient Jewish saying, *that the world was made for the Messiah,* endeavours to justify his version of διὰ by a reference to Rom. vi, 4, where we read that Christ was raised up from the dead, διὰ τῆς δοξῆς τοῦ πατρὸς, which he presumes may signify "*for* the glory of the Father." No such meaning however can fairly be ascribed to this phrase, which Schleusner has, with great propriety, rendered *per omnipotentiam Patris;* "by the *glorious power* of the Father."[1]

[1] In further support of his version of Heb. i, 2, Grotius mentions the phrase δι' ἅν, which he says signifies *quapropter.* Now δι' ἅν, as used in the New Testament, does not signify *quapropter,* but *per quæ* or *per quos:* (Vid. 1 Cor. iii, 5; 2 Pet. i, 4; iii, 6.) It ought to be observed however, that did this phrase, as used in the New Testament, signify *quapropter,* it would be nothing to the purpose of this critic, who has here availed himself of an ambiguity in the Latin word *propter.* That word denotes either *the object to which any thing is directed, or the cause by which it is occasioned.* In the latter of these senses *propter* is, in some few instances, a correct version of διὰ with a genitive. Thus in Rom. viii, 3, ἠσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, "was weak through the flesh," may be rendered, "debilis fuit *propter* carnem." And in 2 Cor. ix, 13, we read that "they

In the present instance, the apostle appears to be promulgating a Jewish doctrine of greater note and currency, than that which Grotius has mentioned—namely, that God made the worlds BY his Word or Son.

Was it true that any uncertainty attached to the meaning of δι' οὗ in this passage, that uncertainty would be removed by the comparison of other passages in the same work; for the epistle to the Hebrews contains upwards of thirty examples of the use of διὰ with a genitive, in all of which, this preposition signifies *by* or *through*.[a] The immediate context supplies us with one example, which may serve as a specimen of the rest; for in the following verse the Son of God is described as having purged our sins δι' ἑαυτοῦ, "*by* himself," i. e. "*through* his own blood." On the other hand, when διὰ, in this epistle, indicates the final cause, it is followed, as in other parts of the New Testment, by an accusative.[2]

II. That αἰῶνας is capable of being interpreted *ages*, and of denoting those successive periods of time, to

[a] Vid. *Schmidii Conc.*

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glorify God, διὰ τῆς δοκιμῆς—in consequence of the experiment—*propter experimentum:*" (*comp.* 2 Cor. viii, 5.) But what connexion has διὰ, in these passages, with the *final cause?*

Schleusner has quoted 2 Pet. i, 3, as a passage in which διὰ, with the genitive, may be supposed to denote the final cause. Christ is there mentioned as having called us, διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς, in Eng. Trans., "*to* glory and virtue:" that is, according to Schleusner, "in order to our obtaining glory and virtue." But it appears more probable that διὰ in this passage may have the sense of *in* or *through*, as in 2 Cor. iii, 11; Rom. ii, 27; iv, 11; 1 Tim. ii, 10, 15; Christ hath called us to the Christian religion, *in*, or *through a course of* glory and virtue: see *Schleusner*, voc. διὰ, *Nos.* 11 & 12.

[2] Vid. ii, 9, 10; vi, 7. In ii, 10, the distinction between the two uses of διὰ is carefully observed, "It became Him *for* whom are all things, and *by* whom are all things"—δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα.

which appertained the Antediluvian, Patriarchal, and Mosaic dispensations, cannot be denied: and if such be, in this passage, the true meaning of *αἰῶνας*, we must understand the apostle as declaring that all these dispensations were constituted or arranged BY the Son of God. Such a declaration would proclaim, in language not easily to be mistaken, the Son's eternal divinity; and would therefore coincide with the general tenor of this epistle. Nevertheless, there are strong reasons for our preferring the commonly received version of this passage.

The substantive *αἰῶνες*, as it is used by the apostle Paul, may be considered in several instances to denote the world, or universe. Thus in Tim. i, 17, God is denominated *βασιλεῦς τῶν αἰώνων*—that is probably "the king of the universe:" and in 1 Cor. ii, 7, we read that God ordained the "hidden wisdom of the gospel *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*—before the worlds were created."[a] Since then *αἰῶνες* according to the usage of the apostle Paul (who may fairly be deemed the author of the epistle to the Hebrews) sometimes signifies the universe—since the creation of the universe by the Son is a doctrine elsewhere declared by that apostle[b]—since that doctrine was probably well known among the Hebrews —and since the verb *ποιεῖν*, although used in a variety of senses, is more correctly applicable to the formation of visible objects, than to the *arrangement* of ages and dispensations; we may fairly conclude that the creation of the universe is the subject alluded to in Heb. i, 2, and that the passage is properly rendered in Eng. Trans.—"by whom also, *he made the worlds*." The evidence however which throws the most light on the

[a] So also Eph. iii, 9; Col. i, 26; vid. *Schleusner*, in voc. No. 7.
[b] Col. i, 16.

question, and which may be considered as nearly demonstrating the correctness of this version of Heb. i, 2, is that of another passage in the same epistle, in which the apostle again describes the creation, and to express the universe, again employs the same term—αἰῶνες: "Through faith," saith he, "we understand κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ, that *the worlds were framed* by the word of God, so that things which are seen (τὰ βλεπόμενα) were not made of things which do appear."[a] Here it is very plain that αἰῶνας signifies the worlds or universe; for that term is identified with *things which are seen*—τὰ βλεπόμενα—i. e. the *visible creation.*[3]

[a] Ch. xi, 3.

3 Heb. xi, 3. Πίστει νοοῦμεν κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὰ βλεπόμενα γεγονέναι.

It might have been supposed that the Editors of U. N. V. would not have ventured on altering the received interpretation of Heb. xi, 3—a passage of which the meaning appears to be too plain to admit of misconstruction. They have, however, presented us with the following version of it: "By faith we understand that the ages were so ordered by the Word of God, that the present state of things arose not from what did then appear." Their note on the passage is as follows: "See Wakefield and Sykes, who observe that αἰωνες properly signifies ages, or periods of time, and that there is no instance in the New Testament, where more than this seems to be meant by the word." *Sykes' Note on Heb.* i, 3. In the present instance the author's meaning is that "it was so contrived, that Christ's coming into the world, which we see, was brought about by means which could not be seen." *Sykes's Note in loc. and Rosenmüller.* The Primate (Newcome) takes the words in the popular sense. His version is, "By faith we understand that the world was framed by the Word of God, so that the things which are seen were not made of things which appeared."

Newcome's version of this passage is substantially the same with Eng. Trans., and this "popular sense" of the words, is, I apprehend, the only sense of which they are here capable. We have already observed, that αἰῶνες, in other parts of the New Testament, *does* signify the material universe, and that the verb καταρτίζειν is properly applied to the work of creation, the reader will find ample proof in Heb. x, 5. *Sep. Psalm.* lxxiii, 16; lxxxix, 37. That the creation of the world is the subject here treated on, is evident from the context, because, from this commencement of the Scripture history, the

The use of *αἰὼν*, in the sense to which we have now adverted, is a Hebraism. עוֹלָם, the corresponding Hebrew word, appears to assume the same meaning in Ecclesiastes iii, 11; and by the Rabbinical writers that word is frequently employed to express this *visible, created world.* So also the plural עוֹלָמִים, which corresponds with the Greek *αἰῶνες*, denotes the universe; which the Jews were accustomed to divide into *three worlds.* "*The lower world,*" (עוֹלָם הַשָּׁפָל) they used to say, "*consists of the sea and the rivers, the deserts and the wildernesses, and the peopled earth; the middle world* (עוֹלָם הַתִּיכוֹן) *contains the spheres, the stars, the celestial signs, and the region of the air; the highest world* (עוֹלָם הָעֶלְיוֹן) *is the world of angels and souls—the spiritual world.*"[a] And, as Lord of the universe God is described by these writers, as "the Lord of all the worlds"—רִבּוֹן כָּל הָעוֹלָמִים.[b]

[a] Vid. *Buxtorf. Lex. Chald.* voc. עולם. [b] Vid. *Gill*, in loc.

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apostle goes forward, in exact chronological order, to the accounts contained in the Old Testament, of Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, &c.

It is difficult to conceive on what grounds the editors have here cited Rosenmüller as an authority in their favour. That critic makes not the slightest allusion to the interpretation which they have themselves adopted; neither does he treat the passage as in any degree of doubtful meaning; but comments on it, in its usually received sense, with much force and perspicuity. As a specimen of the manner in which the ancients understood this verse, the following commentary of Theodoret is worthy of attention: Οὐ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδε δημιουργοῦντα τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις ἡμᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσεν, ὡς ὁ ἀεὶ ὢν Θεὸς τὰ μὴ ὄντα πεποίηκε. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι παρ' ἀνθρώποις παράδειγμα. ἐξ ὄντων γὰρ δημιουργοῦσι οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὁ δὲ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ἐκ μὴ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα παρήγαγε—"For the eye of the body beheld not the supreme God when engaged in the work of creation. It is faith which teaches us that the eternal God created those things which before had no existence. Neither have we any example of such a thing amongst men,..... for men fabricate out of substances already existing, but the supreme God produced all things which exist, out of nothing." *In loc.*

No. 11.

On the testimony of the apostle Paul, that the Psalmist addresses the Son of God, as the Creator of the Universe.

THOSE who reflect on the nature of *creation*—the construction of all the wonders of the universe out of nothing—and who give due weight to the declarations of Scripture, that this is exclusively the work of God, will trace in the doctrine of Paul, that God made the worlds *by his Son*, a satisfactory evidence of the deity of Jesus Christ.

On this subject, however, the apostle is his own interpreter. That it is on the principle of the deity of Christ that he thus ascribes to him the work of creation, is evident from the context; for, in the course of the subsequent verses, he applies to the Son a sublime passage of the Psalms, in which JEHOVAH is addressed as the Creator of the Universe. "And of (or unto) the Angels he (i. e., the Psalmist or the Scripture,) saith, who maketh his angels spirits and his ministers a flame of fire: but unto the Son (he saith,) Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom; thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows;[a] and, *thou Lord, in the beginning, hast laid the foundation of the earth: and the heavens*

[a] Psalm xlv, 6, 7.

are the work of thy hands: they shall perish, but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail."[a]

That the words of Psalm cii, are here cited as having been addressed to the Son of God, and that they therefore contain a proof that he was the Creator of the earth and heavens, is a point so obvious, that it is difficult by any observations to render it more apparent. Since however this point, perspicuous as it is, has been disputed; and since it is of no trifling importance to our main subject, it may be desirable concisely to notice the evidences on which it rests. These will be found *first*, in the construction of the apostle's sentence: and *secondly*, in the tenor of his argument.

I. The sentence quoted above consists of two clauses —the former relating to the Angels, the latter to the Son. These clauses respond one to the other: in other words, they are placed in opposition to each other; and that opposition is marked (according to a form of speech very frequent in the works of Greek authors) by the adversative particles μὲν and δὲ—" Καὶ πρὸς MEN τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει, And of (or unto) the angels *indeed* he saith, *Who maketh &c., &c.*; πρὸς ΔΕ τὸν υἱὸν, *but* unto the Son (he saith,) Thy throne, &c., &c.; *and* (καὶ) Thou Lord, &c., &c." The quotation from Psalm cii, is joined by the copulative καὶ to that from Psalm xlv: both of these quotations are ranged under the responding particle δὲ; both belong to the second clause of the sentence, and both therefore appertain to the apostle's account of the Son.

Peirce, a learned Arian commentator, and after him

[a] Ps. cii, 25—28. Heb. i, 7—12.

Michaelis,[1] are unwilling to allow that the words of Psalm cii, are here cited in reference to the Son; and in order to avoid this conclusion they have recourse to an extraordinary method of construing the passage before us. After rendering v. 7, like other translators, as relating to the angels, they explain verses 8 and 9, which contain the quotation from Psalm xlv respecting the Son, as a *parenthesis;* and accordingly pretend that the quotation from Psalm cii, in verses 10, 11, and 12, is connected by the copulative *και*, not with the immediately preceding quotation, but with the words of verse 7, and is *therefore* applied by the apostle not to the Son, but to the angels: as follows:—7. "*And concerning the angels (whom I have undertaken to prove inferior to the raised and exalted Son) he saith, Who maketh his angels, winds &c.* 8. *(whereas of the Son he saith—[speaking agreeably to the case in much more magnificent and lofty terms] Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, &c., &c.)* 10. *And [concerning the same beings, the angels, we have the following passage, Ps.* cii, *to our purpose,] Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, &c.*[a]

To ascribe to the apostle, an arrangement of his words so strange and perverted, and one so evidently calculated to inculcate a meaning which, according to these critics, was foreign from his views, is evidently unreasonable. It is certain that the writings of Paul, like those of other authors, are to be interpreted according to the received rules of grammar and construction;

[a] See *Peirce on Heb.* p. 26.

[1] Michaelis, notwithstanding the apparent tendency of some of his interpretations of scripture, was a believer in the deity of Christ. In his note on this very passage, he asserts that in *other* parts of scripture, Christ is described as the true God. (See his *Com. on the Ep. to the Heb. as published separately.)*

and when tried by these rules the explanation proposed by Peirce and Michaelis must fall to the ground. A parenthesis can never be necessary to the construction of the sentence in which it is introduced; so that if it be removed, the sentence will remain uninjured. But if verses 8 and 9 be removed from this passage, the construction will be destroyed; because those verses constitute the main part of that which may be termed its *responding limb.* This appears, as we have already observed, from the words πρὸς ΔΕ τὸν υἱὸν, by which those verses are introduced; for they are obviously (as Peirce himself has elsewhere allowed)[a] the *response* to the words πρὸς MEN τοὺς ἀγγέλους, which stand at the head of the sentence. Since then verses 8 and 9 form an essential part of the sentence, and therefore *are not parenthetic,* it follows, that the subsequent quotation from Psalm cii is joined by καὶ to the immediately preceding contents of those verses, and has no connexion with verse 7, from which the copulative is itself separated by a long interval. That quotation therefore *cannot* appertain to the apostle's account of the angels, and *must* appertain to his account of the Son.

It is curious to observe how one extravagance in interpretation leads to another. Having broken through the common principles of construction, in order to show, that the words of Psalm cii are cited with reference not to the Son but to the angels; the difficulty immediately occurs, that in that passage, the angels are not mentioned. In order to surmount this difficulty, Michaelis would persuade his readers (although the whole discourse consists of a comparison between the Son and the angels *as persons*) that the angels here alluded to, are the "heavens and the earth"

[a] See p. 22.

—the *lifeless elements of nature*: and Peirce adopts the opinion, that the founding of the earth and construction of the heavens of which the Psalmist speaks, signify nothing more than the *appointment* of terrestrial and celestial authorities—of *human and angelic rulers!*

Since, on every fair principle of interpretation, it is clear that the quotation made by the apostle from Psalm cii, appertains to his description of the Son, the doctrine which we learn from the words so quoted is this: *that the Son of God laid the foundation of the earth—that the heavens are the work of his hands, and that when these created things shall perish, he will remain unchanged and unchangeable.*

Such are the attributes of the Being, who is addressed in this passage of the Psalms; and that the apostle quotes these words as *addressed to the Son*, appears in the first place, from his introducing them by προς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν.—"But *unto* the Son (he saith.") Here however it ought to be observed, that πρὸς in verse 7, is in Eng. Trans. rendered "*of*," i. e. "concerning"—"Of the angels he (or the Scripture) saith, who maketh his angels spirits, &c." Dr. Owen, Schleusner, and Stuart, unite in regarding πρὸς in both verse 7 and verse 8, as synonymous with περὶ—"*Concerning* the angels, he saith, &c." but "*concerning* the Son he saith, &c." Notwithstanding the deference justly due to these authorities, it may be doubted whether even in verse 7, πρὸς has the sense of περὶ; for it is not by a very unusual figure of speech, that we are said to speak *to* the thing which is the subject of our discourse. A similar instance occurs almost immediately before, "For *unto* which of the angels, said he at any time, thou art my Son, &c. and again, I will be to *him* a Father, and *he* shall be to me a

Son."[a] So also, in his epistle to the Romans, Paul, after declaring certain doctrines, exclaims, τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ταῦτα; what shall we say *to* these things?[b]—just as in English we speak of addressing ourselves to the subject *respecting* which we are speaking or writing.

Even in verse 7, therefore, πρὸς may without impropriety be rendered as in the margin of Eng. Trans., *unto*. So Vulg. and Montanus—"*ad* angelos;" and Arab. (as rendered by Walton) "*angelos vero compellans* dicit." But in verse 8, the case is a much stronger one; for there, the phrase πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν (λέγει) actually introduces a form of address. Whenever πρὸς followed by an accusative, denoting a person or persons, introduces such a form, it appears uniformly to signify *unto*, and cannot without violence be otherwise rendered. Yates, indeed, in his answer to Dr. Wardlaw's able discourses on the Socinian controversy, expresses his belief, "*that* πρὸς *with an accusative, is never used to denote an address to any one, this being signified by the dative case without any preposition.*"[c] But had this author given himself the trouble of further investigating the subject, he might have found four distinct examples in this epistle, of the form which he presumes never to occur, and *at least one hundred more* in other parts of the New Testament.[d 2]

[a] See verse 5. [b] Rom. viii, 31. [c] See *Yates's Answer to Wardlaw*, p. 197. [d] Vid. Luke xviii, 31; xix, 5, 8; xx, 3, 23; John iii, 4, &c. &c. *Schmidii Conc.*

[2] I observe that the sense of *de* or περί is not attributed to πρὸς by Stephens, Scapula, Hederic, or Viger; no notice is taken of such a meaning in Biel's lexicon of the Septuagint; and with respect to the examples adduced by Schleusner and others from the New Testament, they will not, I believe, be found to stand the test of accurate examination. Thus when we read that Jesus spake a parable unto his disciples, πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι, (Luke

It appears then that the expressions πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν, with which the apostle prefaces his quotation from Psalm cii, import that the words cited were addressed *unto* the Son. If however, in the second place, we allow that πρὸς has here the force of περὶ, and ought to be rendered *of*, no essential change is produced in the meaning of the passage—for it is nevertheless apparent that the apostle cites the words of the Psalmist *as addressed to the Son of God:* "Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands: they shall perish, but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, &c." Of whom were these words spoken? On the supposition that πρὸς signifies *de*, the apostle answers, *of the Son.* The old Socinian critics, or *Fratres Poloni*, endeavour to escape from the force of this answer, by supposing that the apostle intended to apply to the Son *only* the latter part of the cited passage, namely, that which regards the *destruction* of the visible world. And the editors of U. N. V.

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xviii, 1,) we cannot suitably render πρὸς "respecting." It rather signifies *in hanc finem—for this purpose:—to this end*, that men ought always to pray, &c." *Eng. Trans.* So, in classical Greek, πρὸς τί ταῦτα λέγεις—"*for what purpose* dost thou say these things?" (See *Viger de Idiot. Ed. Zeun.* p. 664.) Again, in Luke xx, 19, the chief priests and scribes are said to have perceived, that Jesus spake a parable πρὸς αὐτοὺς—not "*de* se," as Schleusner would render that phrase, but "*contra* se," according to a very usual meaning of that preposition (See Acts xix, 38; xxv, 19; Col. iii, 13, 19:) "against them." *Eng. Trans.* Again in Heb. iv, 13, the apostle speaks of "him," πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος—words which Schleusner (in voc. πρὸς) has rendered "*de* quo nobis sermo est:" but which are surely better translated, (as Schleusner himself has elsewhere determined, in voc. λόγος) "*cum* quo nobis res est." So *Rosenmüller* (in loc.) and *Eng. Trans.* "*with* whom have we to do." The only example adduced by Schleusner from the classics, is not to the point. See *Æschin. Socr. Dial.* ii, § 38—δυσπίστως εἶχε καὶ πρὸς τούτους τοὺς λόγους—"He was incredulously disposed *towards* (not *concerning*) this intelligence."

after the example of Emlyn and Lindsey, inform their readers, that "the immutability of God is here declared as a pledge of the immutability of the kingdom of Christ." But surely such evasions are untenable. On any known principle of composition, it is impossible, that of the Psalmist's plain and uniform address, half should be directed to one person, and half to another; and equally so, that those words should be described as spoken "*of the Son*," which declare nothing but the immutability of the *Father*. Since the words quoted from the Psalm were addressed to the Creator of the earth and heavens;—since He is the only Being there spoken of, or *even in the slightest manner* alluded to;—and, since the apostle (on the supposition that πρὸς signifies *de*) has asserted that the words in question were spoken "*of* the Son,"—it follows with much force and clearness that, according to the doctrine of the apostle, it was the Son whom the Psalmist here addressed—the Son, who was *the Creator of the earth and heavens*.

II. Our reasoning on the construction of the apostle's sentence will be found to derive a plain confirmation from the *tenor of his argument*. On this point of the subject a few observations will suffice.

It appears that the apostle's purpose in writing the epistle to the Hebrews, was to evince the superiority of the Christian religion, to the preparatory institutions of the Jewish law. From various hints scattered over the epistle, it is evident that the Hebrew Christians were strongly tempted to lay aside the simplicity of their faith in Christ, and to place their dependence on those typical and transitory institutions. The prejudices in which they had been educated, and the prevailing sentiments of those by whom they were sur-

rounded, would alike contribute to this end. Amongst the principal circumstances which tended to impress upon them the dignity and authority of the Jewish law, was a tradition that it was promulgated by the ministration of angels. This tradition is declared as a truth by Stephen ;[a] and Paul expressly asserts that the law was ordained by angels in the hands of a Mediator.[b] The same doctrine is alluded to by Josephus ;[c] and is insisted on by more modern Jews.[d]

It was probably in consequence of the effect produced by this doctrine, that the apostle, in asserting the superiority of the gospel to the law, was led to institute a comparison between the angels and Jesus Christ. For in as much as Jesus Christ, the Minister of the gospel dispensation, was personally superior to the angels who promulgated the law; insomuch, the gospel, as compared with the law, presented the higher claim to the regard and reverential attention of the people.

The apostle commences his comparison between the angels and the Messiah, by declaring that after the latter (that *heir of all things, by whom God made the worlds)* had died for our sins, he ascended to the right hand of his Father, and was "made so much better than the angels." For a short time during his humiliation and abode amongst men, he was "*made lower than the angels ;*"[e] but, on his ascension into his kingdom, he was again exalted to his wonted superiority over them; and for this reason, that "he hath by inheritance obtained (or possessed) a more excellent *name* than they.

[a] Acts vii, 53. [b] Gal. iii, 19. [c] Ant. xv, cap. v, § 3. [d] See *Jalkut Rubeni*, as cited by *Wetstein* on Gal. iii, 19. [e] See chap. ii, 9.

The word *name* is very comprehensive; it describes *character* as well as *title,* and thus may embrace the offices and attributes of a person. The title, office, and attributes of the angels, were the gift of God to this class of his creatures. The title, office, and attributes of Christ, were possessed by inheritance—that is, by *filial right.*[3] In order to confirm his assertion respecting the superiority of the Son to the angels, the apostle adduces several passages from the Old Testament; some relating to the angels—others to the Messiah. From those relating to the angels, we learn that their title was that of "angels"—their office "to minister to the heirs of salvation"—their character and attributes, that they were "spirits," and in metaphorical language "a flame of fire." On the other hand, in the passages quoted with reference to the Messiah, it is declared, first, that by title he is the "Son of God;" for in two of them God denominates him his *Son:* secondly, that his office is regal; for he is seated on his throne,[a] he holds his sceptre,[b] he sits on the right hand of God, until all his enemies be made his footstool:[c] thirdly, that his character and attributes are those of God himself. In the passage quoted from Psalm xcvii, he is Jehovah whom all the angels are called upon to worship: in the words of Psalm xlv, (as quoted in verse 8,) he is declared to be *God:* and lastly, in conformity to these testimonies, he is represented in the words of Psalm cii, as that Almighty Being who laid the foundation of the earth, and constructed the heavens, and who will hereafter fold them up as

[a] Ver. 8. [b] Ver. 8. [c] Ver. 13.

[3] Vid. *Schleusner* in voc. κληρονομέω, no. 2: "ratione quacunque aliquid consequor, adipiscor, potior, possideo, ita tamen, ut interdum adjuncta sit notio *possessionis legitimæ ac perpetuæ; aut conjunctionis, qualis inter liberos ac parentes esse solet.*"

a vesture. The analogy between the quotation from Psalm xlv, and that from Psalm cii, inseparably connected, as they are, by the apostle's *καὶ*, is particularly obvious. In the former, the Son is addressed as God —in the latter as Lord, i. e. Jehovah: in the former it is said to him, *Thy throne is for ever and ever;* in the latter, "they (the earth and heaven) shall perish; but *Thou remainest*....as a vesture shalt thou fold them up.... but *Thou art the same and Thy years shall not fail.*"

Having thus discussed the apostle's argument, contained in the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, we shall be better qualified to apprehend the force of those powerful yet simple expressions in which it is applied—"Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. *For if the word spoken by angels (that is, the law) was stedfast,* and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; *which at the first began to be spoken by the* LORD, *and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him.*"[a]

The mode of argument adopted by the apostle in his first chapter, is continued in other parts of the epistle. It is by unfolding the personal character and attributes of the Son of God, that he proves the exalted nature of the christian dispensation; and whether he compares the Messiah with the angels, or with Moses, or with the high priests of the Jews, we still find him directly or indirectly declaring his *divine* character.[b] It is an irrelevant remark of a Socinian critic,

[a] Chap. ii, 1—3.—*comp.* i, 10; viii, 2, 8; xii, 5, 14; xiii, 6.
[b] Vid. iii, 3, 4; iv, 12, 13; vii, 16; xii, 25, 26.

quoted and answered by Dr. Owen,[a] that if the deity of Christ were the truth which the apostle intended to promulgate, he might have asserted that doctrine; and then, any comparison between Christ and the angels would have become needless and absurd. The fact of the case is plainly this: that the truth which, throughout this epistle, he principally asserts and promulgates, is the superiority of the christian dispensation to the Jewish law; that, in order to evince that superiority, he compares the angels, Moses, and the high priest of the Jews, by whom the law was given forth and administered, with the Son of God, the author and minister of the gospel dispensation; and that in the course of these comparisons he naturally insists (whether directly or indirectly) upon that doctrine, on which alone can be fully established the pre-eminence of the Son, above all creatures—the doctrine of his *deity*.

It appears then, that whether we examine the construction of the apostle's sentence, or reflect on the scope of his argument, we are confirmed in the conclusion which, on the perusal of this chapter of the epistle, every plain reader of Scripture would almost necessarily form—namely, that the words quoted from Psalm cii, are cited by the apostle as having been addressed to the Son. That it was the Son therefore to whom these words were addressed, and that he is the Author as well as the Medium of creation, stands recorded on the authority of *inspiration*.

This main point being settled, it is worthy of being, in the second place, remarked, that the apostle evidently insists on the relation of Psalm cii to the Mes-

[a] *On Heb.* fol. ed. p. 118.

siah, as a point allowed by those to whom he is writing. Hence we are naturally led to enquire on what ground the Christian Hebrews were accustomed to apply this portion of Scripture to Christ? I apprehend that the ground of such an application was as follows—that in their view, the Messiah was the Son, or Word of God; that the Word was identified with Jehovah himself; and that this title peculiarly describes the Divine Being in his character of the *Deus apparens*, the ever present guide and helper of his people. Now it is in this particular character that Jehovah is represented in Psalm cii, as appears from the context of the address quoted by the apostle,—"When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall *appear* in his glory. He will regard the prayer of the destitute and not despise their prayer. This shall be written for the generation to come; and the people which shall be created shall praise Jehovah. For he hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from heaven did the Lord behold the earth, to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed to death; to declare the name of the Lord in Zion and his praise in Jerusalem; when the people are gathered together and the kingdoms to serve the Lord."[a]

No wonder that the Chaldee Paraphrast should recognize in this passage a description of the *Word of Jah* in whom God is made manifest for the help and deliverance of his people—who acts in behalf of Jehovah, and *is* Jehovah.[4] No wonder that Jews converted to Christianity should here perceive a delineation

[a] Ver. 16—22.

[4] See ver. 16. "When the Lord shall build up Zion, &c.," is in the Targum paraphrased, "The city of Zion shall be built by the Word of Jah: he shall appear in his glory."

of the Son of God—the Lord Jesus Christ—who at the appointed time, and to a generation *future*, when the Psalmist wrote, had appeared in Zion[a]—whose[b] glory his disciples had beheld, as the glory of the only-begotten of the Father[b]—who, on so many memorable occasions, had heard and answered the prayers of the destitute[c]—who had set free the prisoners of sin and Satan, and had wrought redemption for those who were appointed to death[d]—who had proclaimed the name of his Father in Jerusalem[e]—and whose coming had already been proved to be the signal for the gathering together of the Gentiles to serve the Lord.

[a] Dan. ix, 26: Gal. iv, 4. [b] John i, 14. [c] Matt. viii, 2, 3, 6—13, &c. [d] Isa. lxi, 1: John viii, 36: Heb. ii, 15, &c. [e] John ii, 16, &c.

No. 12.

The Son, the Image of the invisible God, the First-born of the whole creation, and the Creator of all things in heaven and earth.

Col. i, 12—16. Εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί· ὃς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ· ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν· ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως· ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαὶ, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται, κ. τ. λ.

"Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son: in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins: *who is the Image of the invisible God, the First-born of every creature* (or *of the whole creation*); *for by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him, &c.*"

In the discussion of this sublime passage, our attention may be confined to three particulars; *first*, the

appellation given to the Son, εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου: *secondly*, the other appellation, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως: *thirdly*, the declaration, that by him all things were created.

I. The Son is denominated εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου —"the Image of the invisible God." The substantive εἰκὼν, as used in the Greek Scriptures, has two distinct meanings. Sometimes it signifies the copy, representation, or similitude of a thing;[a] at other times it denotes the form and figure of the thing itself, or that by which it is made visible.[b] Schleusner explains εἰκὼν, in Col. i, 16, as bearing the former of these senses; for he states, that Christ is denominated εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, "ob naturam suam Deo simillimam."[c] It appears, however, that this title is applied to the Son of God, not because of his similitude to the Father, but because, in the person and actions of the Son, the attributes and character of God are *made manifest* to his creatures. That such is the apostle's meaning we may conclude from 2 Cor. iv, 4—6, in which passage he applies to our Lord the same title—εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, and soon afterwards explains himself more fully, as follows: "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face (or person) of Jesus Christ,"—expressions which appear to convey the idea that Christians are, by the grace of God, enabled to perceive and understand his glorious attributes, as they are *manifested to them in the person and character of Jesus Christ.* "In the mani-

[a] Vid. Sept. of Deut. iv, 16; Ezek. xvi, 17, &c.; Matt. xxii, 20; Luke xx, 24; 1 Cor. xi, 7. [b] Vid. Wisd. Sol. xiii, 13; xv, 5; Rom. 1, 23; viii, 29; 2 Cor. iii, 18; Heb. x, 1. [c] Vid. *Schleus.* in voc. No. 5.

festation of God unto us," says Dr. Owen, "the Son is said to be εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, because in *him*, the partaker in the nature of the Father, do the power, goodness, holiness, grace, and all other glorious properties of God shine forth, being in him represented to us."[a]

This interpretation of the title εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, has in fact received the countenance of Schleusner himself, who, after expressing his opinion that the Son is so denominated, "ob naturam suam Deo simillimam," adds, "seu quatenus est ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ—"or in as much as he is the bright ray of his glory, and the express form or character of his substance."[b] It is evident that the parallel expressions, thus quoted from the epistle to the Hebrews, are intended, under two distinct figures, to convey the very idea which we have been endeavoring to unfold—namely, that in the Son of God, the glorious attributes of the Deity are *displayed, and brought to bear upon his creatures.* The bright ray or efflux is that by which the shining body emitting it becomes the object of vision and sensation; and the engraven character of the seal (for this is apparently the metaphor intended) is the form by which the seal is distinguished, and by which its impression is communicated to other substances.

Although the divine powers, inherent in the Son of God, became peculiarly the objects of perception and observation, when he lived and conversed amongst men, there is reason to believe that these several appellations were not given to our Saviour, on account of his human nature; but rather because, in his spiritual and divine nature, he ever was, and ever will be, the

[a] On Heb. i, 3. [b] Heb. i, 3.

Person, through whom God is made manifest. The expressions thus adopted by the apostle were not new, nor could they fail of being understood by many of his Jewish and Hellenistic readers, as relating to the Wisdom, Word, or Son, of God, who existed from the beginning with the Father; and *by* whom were all things. In proof of this remark, our appeal may shortly be made to the apocryphal book of Wisdom, to the Targums, to the Zohar, and to the writings of Philo.

In the first mentioned of these books (a work composed by some Alexandrian Jew before the Christian era), *Wisdom* is frequently represented, either poetically or theologically, as a *person through whom the glory of God is displayed, and by whom his wonderful works are effected.* This personal wisdom of God is described by the author in question, in very nearly the same terms as those which Paul has applied to the Son. Ἡ γὰρ πάντων τεχνίτις ἐδίδαξέ με Σοφία· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα νοερὸν, ἅγιον, μονογενὲς, κ.τ.λ.....Ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής.....ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ.[a] "Wisdom, that artificer of all things, hath taught me; for there is in her an intelligent, holy, *only-begotten*, spirit....for she is the *exhalation* of the power of God, and the *pure efflux* of his almighty glory....the *bright ray* of the eternal light—the unspotted mirror of the energy of God—and the *Image* or *express Form* of his goodness."

With respect to the Targumists, the reader may be referred to No. 8, which contains sufficient evidence that in the Word of God, these writers recognized a Person, acting in behalf of God and yet partaking in

[a] Vid. cap. vii, 22, 26.

the name and nature of Jehovah—one who was to the children of Israel the immediate object of religious adoration, and by whom the glorious attributes of God were made manifest and applied. This character appears to be exactly coincident with the εἰκὼν, ἀπαύγασμα, and χαρακτὴρ of the apostle. That by the εἰκὼν, the Image or Form of God, the Targumists would understand *the Word of Jah*, may be collected not only from their general doctrine as now stated, but from various passages in Jonathan's Targum on the prophets, in which *the eye, the mouth, the hand*, and *the face*, of God, as mentioned in the Hebrew text, are paraphrased as signifying his *Word*.[a]

We are informed by Schoettgen, who is said to have spent many years in the study of the Zohar, that in it, the *preexistent Messiah* is expressly described as being Jehovah—the Angel of God—the Shechinah—the Divine Majesty—the Word of God, &c.[b] Among other titles applied in the Zohar, to this Divine Person, is צֶלֶם אֵל, "the *Image* of God."[c1]

Lastly, Philo Judæus, who has written so largely respecting the Word or Son of God, as a personal agent

[a] Vid. Jon. on Jer. xxiv, 6; Ezek. vii, 4; Amos ix, 4; Isa. xlviii, 3; Jer. xv, 19; Isa. xlviii, 13, &c. [b] *De Mess.* p. 911. [c] In Gen. fol. 31, 1. See *Gill* on 2 Cor. iv, 4.

1 The book *Zohar*, or the "Book of Light," is a mystical Jewish commentary on the Pentateuch. It is supposed to contain the Cabbalistic doctrines of Simeon Ben Jochai, a celebrated Rabbi, frequently mentioned with honor in the Talmuds, who flourished in the second century, and whose sayings are supposed to have been reduced to writing by his disciples. To these sayings various additions have been made by other Rabbis, the whole together constituting the "Zohar."

The language in which the *Zohar* is written is said not to be the corrupt Talmudical Hebrew which came into use about the fifth century, but a dialect resembling the purer Chaldaic extant in the

endued with divine powers, frequently denominates him εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ. For the present, one example will suffice: Ἐμπρεπὲς γὰρ, τοῖς ἑταιρίαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην δεμένοις, ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ ὂν ἰδεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερώτατον Λόγον. "For it becomes those who aim at a friendship with knowledge to long to behold the self-existent Being—and if that be impossible, his *express Form*—the most holy Word."[a2]

[a] *De Confus. Ling.* Ed. Mangeii, tom. i, p. 419.

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earlier Targums. Hence the conclusion is fairly deduced, that it must have been composed within two or three centuries from the Christian era. The precise date however and true author of this curious work will probably always continue, as they now are, extremely uncertain: see *Smith's Messiah*, vol. i, p. 458.

[2] "PHILO, a learned Jewish writer, who flourished in the first century and under the reign of Caligula, was of the sacerdotal race, and brother to the chief magistrate of his nation at Alexandria, where he was born. He received his education in his native place, and distinguished himself by his early proficiency in eloquence, philosophy, and *scriptural knowledge*. He is spoken of by Eusebius as a man copious in speech, rich in sentiments, and eminent and sublime in his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures. He was particularly versed in the Platonic philosophy." See *Rees' Cyclop.* voc. *Philo*. His familiarity with that philosophy is indeed so conspicuous in his works, that it was a common saying, "*Aut Philo platonizat aut Plato philonizat.*" In A. D. 42, he was sent by his brethren in Egypt at the head of a deputation to the Emperor Caligula at Rome, in order to vindicate them from the aspersions of their Alexandrian neighbours. Since, in his "apology" to the Emperor, he speaks of himself as *old and grey headed*, it is supposed that he must have been born twenty or thirty years before the Christian era. We are informed by Eusebius and others, that he came a second time to Rome during the reign of Claudius, and then formed an acquaintance with the apostle Peter. "Photius affirms that he became a convert to the Christian faith and was baptized, but that afterwards, having met with some cause of offence, from motives of resentment he renounced his creed." His works afford abundant evidence that he was well versed in the doctrines of the Old Testament and in the theology of the Jews, but they contain no proof whatever that he was either a Christian, or acquainted with Christianity. See *Rees, as above. Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* lib. ii, cap. 4, 5, &c.

II. The Son of God is, in the second place, denominated by the apostle, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως—*the First-born or First-begotten of every creature, or of the whole creation.*

Many theological writers both ancient and modern have understood these expressions as declarative only of the priority of the Son of God to all creatures, *in point of time.* On the supposition that such is the true interpretation of the words, it is by no means difficult to detect the fallacy of the Arian position, *that the first-born of all creatures must be himself a creature.* The distinction between τόκος the derivative of τίκτω, pario, or *gigno,* and κτίσις the derivative of κτίζω, *creo,* is too plain to be mistaken; and since πρῶτος or πρῶτον, when used to denote that which precedes, is sometimes followed by a genitive case denoting that which is preceded, and thus assumes the force of πρότερος or πρότερον,[a] we may reasonably conclude with Casaubon, that πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως is an expression grammatically capable of the very same meaning as τεχθεὶς πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως, ante ullam rem creatam genitus—"*begotten before any thing was created.*"[b]

Although, however, the priority of the Son of God, in point of time, is plainly alluded to in the expression πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, it is most probable that the term as employed by the apostle was intended, in connexion with that priority, to convey the idea of pre-eminence or lordship. Schleusner, after the example of Drusius, Cameron, Whitby, Macknight, and others, renders these words "*princeps et dominus omnium rerum creatarum.*" The term First-born or First-begotten (in Hebrew בְּכוֹר) is occasionally employed in the Scriptures to express that which is most eminent—the

[a] See John i, 15, 30; xv, 18; 1 Tim. ii, 1. [b] In loc.

chief or principal of its kind. Thus in Deut. xxxiii, 17, בְּכוֹר שׁוֹרוֹ, "The firstling of his bullock," is understood as signifying a remarkably large or robust ox. In Job xviii, 13, בְּכוֹר מָוֶת, "The first-born of death," stands for some peculiarly dreadful disease, styled in *ver.* 14, "the king of terrors." In Isaiah xiv, 30, בְּכוֹרֵי דַלִּים, "The First-born of the poor," appears to denote "*extremely* poor men." In Exod. iv, 22; Jer. xxxi, 9, Israel and Ephraim are respectively denominated the "First-born of God," because distinguished by the peculiar favour of Jehovah, and placed in a situation of eminence above other nations. Lastly, in Psa. lxxxix, 27, Jehovah, when speaking of David, (probably as a type of the Messiah,) is introduced as saying, "Also I will make him [my] First-born *higher than the kings of the earth.*[3]

[3] With the phrase πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, may be compared a title applied to Christ in Rev. iii, 14, viz. ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, rendered in E. T. "the beginning of the creation of God."

By these terms our translators, doubtless, intended to express not the first creature, but the first cause of creation; the parent, producer, or efficient cause of every creature. (See *Gill*, in loc.) There is reason to believe, however, that ἀρχὴ, in this passage, is not properly rendered "beginning." In Mark x, 6; xiii, 19; 2 Pet. iii, 4, indeed, the phrase ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως, clearly signifies "the beginning of the creation;" the word *beginning*, in these instances, importing nothing more than *commencement*. But when ἀρχὴ is applied to a *person*, it mostly signifies "the chief, the principal"—frequently "the prince, the commander." In these cases it corresponds with the Hebrew רֹאשׁ, *caput*, as in many passages of the Septuagint version. For example, Αὗται αἱ ἀρχαὶ πατριᾶς Λευιτῶν, "these are the *heads* of the family of the Levites:" Exod. vi, 25. Ἔδωκαν ἀρχὴν, "they appointed a *captain*:" Neh. ix, 17. Γαλαὰδ σύ μοι ἀρχὴ τοῦ Λιβάνου, "Galaad thou art the *head* of Libanus:" Jer. xxii, 6. Θήσονται ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχὴν μίαν, "they shall appoint for themselves *one head*:" Hos. i, 11. Ἀρχαὶ οἴκου Ἰακὼβ, "the *princes* of the house of Jacob:" Mic. iii, 1. By the writers of the New Testament ἀρχαὶ, *powers*, is frequently used for ἄρχοντες, *rulers*. vid. Luke xii, 11; Rom. viii, 38; Eph. iii, 10; vi, 12; Col. i, 16. In Col. i, 18, Christ is himself denominated ἀρχὴ, apparently in the sense of chief, or principal. Lastly, in Rev. i, 5, a passage parallel

It is yet more to our present purpose to observe, that, among the ancient Hebrews, the first-born son enjoyed a *birth-right:* the largest portion of the possessions of the family descended to him: and, in his capacity of heir, he was deemed to be lord of his father's house. "Now I say," says the apostle, "that the *heir,* as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be *lord of all.*"[a] Thus it is reasonable to conclude, that πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, has nearly the same force with a similar expression, by which Paul has elsewhere designated the Son of God—κληρονόμος πάντων, *the Heir, Possessor, or Lord of all things.*[b] It appears indeed, that it was always partly in this sense of *lord* or *principal,* that Paul applied to Jesus Christ the title πρωτότοκος. In Rom. viii, 29, the apostle denominates him, *the first-born amongst many brethren;* probably because he is far above them all—the head of his own church: and in Col. i, 18, (the immediate context of the passage before us,) he styles him πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν—*the first-born from the dead;* not merely because he was the first to rise from death, but because when risen he assumed the government of his church, and in all things possessed "the preeminence."[c] So, lastly, in Heb. i, 6, it is the First-born or First-begotten (πρωτότοκος,) ex-

[a] Gal. iv, 1; *comp.* Gen. xxv, 32; xxvii, 37; 2 Chron. xxi, 3; Matt. xxi, 38; Heb. iii, 6. [b] See Heb. i, 2. [c] *Comp.* Apoc. i, 5.

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in other respects with that which we are now considering, Jesus is described as ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς, "the *Ruler* of the kings of the earth."

On the whole, therefore, it is evident that the apostle's words, ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, may with great propriety be rendered "the chief, or Lord of God's creation." So Rosenmüller, in loc. So also Belsham, (a high authority among modern Unitarians,) who renders these words, "the head of the creation of God."

alted far above every creature—*whom all the angels of God are called upon to worship.*

It remains to be observed that the term πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, like the preceding expression εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου is best understood as relating to the Son of God in his original and divine character. In support of this assertion we need only advert to the apostle's immediate context, in which the creation of all things by the Son, appears to be adduced in evidence of his being both the Image of the invisible God, and the *first-begotten of the whole creation.* In this conclusion we are again confirmed by the cotemporary theology of the Jews as it may be collected from the writings of Philo. There are various passages in these writings which throw light on the meaning of the apostle in the passage now before us, and which strongly indicate that by πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως he must have intended to describe that eternal Word or Son of God, who was anterior to the whole creation, and exercises lordship over all things. To that divine Person, Philo very frequently applies the synonymous title of πρωτόγονος, primogenitus; and describes him under this title, as presiding over all things and as superior to the whole universe. The following passage of his works will afford a sufficient specimen of the manner in which he handles this interesting subject. Καθάπερ γάρ τινα ποίμνην, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἄέρα καὶ πῦρ, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τούτοις φυτά τε αὖ καὶ ζῶα τὰ μὲν θνητὰ, τὰ δὲ θεῖα· ἔτι δὲ οὐρανοῦ φύσιν, καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης περιόδους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τροπάς τε αὖ καὶ χορείας ἐναρμονίους, ὡς ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἄγει κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον, προσησάμενος τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτοῦ Λόγον Πρωτογόνον υἱὸν ὃς τὴν ἐπεμέλειαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης οἷα

τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὕπαρχος διαδέξεται.[a] "For God in the capacity of a shepherd and king, conducts, as a flock under just regulation, the earth, the water, the air, and the fire, and whatever things are in them, vegetable or animal, mortal or immortal; together with the constitution of the heaven, the periods of the sun and moon, and the revolutions and harmonious courses of the stars; and he places over them his own righteous Word, his *First-begotten* Son, who, like some viceroy of a great king, is charged with the government of this sacred flock."

To the testimony of Philo may be added that of a more modern Jew, who has applied to Jehovah himself nearly the same expressions as the apostle has here employed to describe the Son of God. "*Let every first-born of thy sons,*" says R. Bechai,[b] "*be redeemed, and they shall not see my face if they come without an offering. Who is worthy to be the first-born? This is a great dignity, for he that possesses it resembles the Holy Blessed God, who is the First-born of the world.*"[c]

III. We have now to consider more particularly the apostle's declaration that *by the Son of God all things were created:* ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαὶ, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισαι—"for by him were all things created, that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers; all things were created by him and for him."

The generality of commentators both ancient and

[a] *De Agricultura*, Ed. Mang. tom. i, p. 308. [b] Exod. xiii, 13.
[c] Vid. *Wetstein*, in loc.

modern, unite in the opinion—an opinion, the correctness of which the plain and impartial reader of scripture would probably never think of questioning—that the doctrine declared in this passage is the *physical* creation of all things by the Son of God. This opinion however is controverted by Grotius, Wetstein, Rosenmüller and the professed Socinian critics, who explain this passage as relating to the new or moral creation.

On this subject we have *in the first place* to observe, that the apostle's words can be interpreted no otherwise than *either* of the old or the new creation. "Undoubtedly," says Bishop Pearson, "there are but two kinds of creation in the language of the scriptures; the one literal, the other metaphorical; one old, the other new; one by way of formation, the other by way of reformation." The learned prelate's remark will be found to derive entire confirmation from the use of the verb κτίζω in the Septuagint version, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament. As applied to intelligent beings, (who are on all hands allowed to be *in part* alluded to in Col. i, 16,) that verb, in the Greek scriptures,[4] uniformly denotes either the old or the new creation—either physical formation, or renovation and moral change.[5]

Secondly, in whichever of these senses we interpret

[4] I have adopted the term, *Greek scriptures*, for the sake of convenience, to describe the Septuagint version of O. T., the Apocrypha, and the Greek Testament. I have of course no intention to put them all on the same ground in point of authority, or in any degree to insinuate, that either the Septuagint version, or the Apocrypha was inspired.

[5] For the former use of the verb *(when applied to moral agents)* see Sept. Deut. iv, 32; Ps. lxxxviii, 47; Mal. ii, 10; Sap. Sol. ii, 23; 1 Cor. xi, 9, &c.; for the latter, see Eph. ii, 10, 15; iv, 24; and perhaps Sept. Ps. ci, 18.

the passage, it will still intelligibly proclaim the deity of the Son of God. That new creation of which we sometimes read in scripture, and which consists in the transformation of fallen man from a state of sinfulness to one of purity and piety, resembles the old or physical creation in one particular—namely, that it is the work of God, and of God alone. Nor could the Son of God be justly represented to us as the efficient cause of either of these works, on any other principle than that of his actual deity—of his being one in nature with the God and Father of us all. Even Grotius has admitted the truth of this statement respecting the divine origin of the new creation. "Omnia Christus fecit nova," says he, "et *divinior* hæc creatio quam prior illa."[a]

We may now proceed to state the evidences which confirm the commonly received interpretation of this passage, as relating to the *old* creation.

1. In the great majority of passages in the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament, in which κτίζω occurs, that verb plainly denotes original or physical formation.[6] So also the substantive κτίσις *usually* signifies either the act of physical creation, or the creature which is *so* made.[b] So general indeed is this proper and original meaning of the verb κτίζω and its

[a] Vid. *Com.* in Eph. iii, 9. [b] Vid. Judith ix, 12; xvi, 11; Sap. ii, 6; Syr. xvi, 18; Mark x, 6; xiii, 19; xvi, 15; 2 Pet. iii, 4; and in Paul's epistles, in Rom. i, 20, 25; viii, 39; Col. i, 23; Heb. iv, 13, &c.

[6] Amongst other examples which might be selected from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, the reader may be referred to Deut. iv, 32; Psalm lxxxviii, 12; cxlviii, 5; Eccles. xii, 1; Amos iv, 13; Mal. ii, 10; 3 Esd. vi, 13; Sap. i, 14; Syr. xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xxxiii, 10; xlix, 16; Draco 6; in the New Testament he will find the word thus used in Mark xiii, 19; Apoc. iv, 11; x, 6; and by Paul himself in Rom. i, 25; 1 Cor. xi, 9; and 1 Tim. iv, 3.

derivative substances, (as applied to substances and beings,) that unless there be in the context something which plainly marks the contrary, we cannot do otherwise than thus interpret them.

2. There is nothing in this passage connected with κτίζω, which is inconsistent with the interpretation of that verb in the sense of physical creation. The things which are here described as having been *created* are, "*all things that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible,*" and more especially "*thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers:*" the whole of which expressions denote such substances or beings, as were truly the subjects of *a physical creation.*

Τὰ πάντα, "all things," as generally used in the Greek Scriptures, is a term signifying the *universe;* and the universe thus described, is mentioned as having been *physically created.*[a]

It is by no means improbable however that "all things that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible," may be *the universe of moral and intellectual agents only;* for the same expressions (exclusive of the last clause "visible and invisible") are best understood as bearing such a signification, in two other passages of Paul's epistles.[7] Certain it is that moral and intelligent agents are described by "Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, and Powers"—words which, by a figure of speech usual in the writings of this apos-

[a] Sap. i, 14; Syr. xviii, 1; Apoc. iv, 11; perhaps also in Eph. iii, 9.

7 One of these passages occurs within a few verses of that which we are now considering—see Col. i, 20. "And having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile *all things* unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven." The other passage is Eph. i, 10: "That in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth; even in him."

tle, denote *persons* or *beings* placed in a situation of eminence or authority.[a] Since it is in these or similar terms, that he describes, more particularly, the various orders of *good and bad angels*,[b] it is probable that these words were here chiefly intended as a specification of "things *invisible*," and represent those super-terrestrial beings who are possessed of authority in the invisible world.

Now it is undeniable, that the exalted beings whom the apostle thus describes, together with all other things celestial and terrestrial, visible and invisible, *were truly and properly the subjects of a physical creation.*

3. On the other hand, there is much in this passage in connection with the verb κτίζω, which precludes our interpreting that verb in the sense of a moral or new creation. It cannot be predicated of "all things celestial and terrestrial, visible and invisible," or more particularly of good or bad angels, that they were *created anew.*

In proof of this observation, nothing more is necessary than a reference to those passages of Paul's epistles in which he has himself described this new creation. They are as follows: "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a *new creature* (καίνη κτίσις): old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."[c] "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature, or a *new creation*"[d] (καίνη κτίσις.) "For we are his workmanship (ποίημα), created (κτισθέντες) in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."[e] "(Christ)

[a] Vid. Rom. xiii, 1; viii, 38; 1 Cor. xv, 24; Eph. i, 21; iii, 10; vi, 12; Col. ii, 10, 15; and Tit. iii, 1. [b] Vid. Rom. viii, 38; Eph. iii, 10; vi, 12; Col. ii, 15. [c] 2 Cor. v, 17. [d] Gal. vi, 15. [e] Eph. ii, 10.

having abolished in his flesh the enmity (between the Jews and Gentiles), even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man—*ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον*—so making peace."[a] "That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created (*τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα*) in righteousness and true holiness."[b]

From these declarations respecting the new creation, we find that it consists in a moral renovation or reformation, that it is produced by the power of God through faith in Jesus Christ, and that its operation is confined to such of the fallen children of Adam, whether Jews or Gentiles, as experience the power of redemption, and are taught of God to desert their evil courses, and to bring forth the fruits of righteousness.

Such being the account which is given to us by the apostle himself of the new creation, we cannot fail to perceive that this interpretation of the verb *κτίζω* is absolutely inapplicable, in the example now under consideration. Since the new creation, as it is explained by the apostle, is experienced only by *a part of mankind*, it is indisputable that neither the material universe, nor the universe of moral and intellectual creatures was the subject of that new creation.[s] Of the

[a] ver. 15. [b] Eph. iv, 22—24—*comp.* Col. iii, 9, 10.

s Since this reasoning is so generally adopted by commentators, it is not a little surprising that many of them should have explained a somewhat similar passage in the epistle to the Ephesians, as relating, in part at least, to the new creation. The passage alluded to is Eph. iii, 8, 9: "Unto me..... is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ: and to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who crea-

good or bad angels, in particular, the new creation could never be predicated. "The angels are all either good or bad," observes bishop Pearson in his admirable argument upon this passage of Scripture: "but whether they be bad, they can never be good again, nor did Christ come to redeem the devils; or whether they be good, they were always such, nor were they so by the virtue of Christ's incarnation, for *he took not on him the nature of angels*. We acknowledge in mankind, a new creation, because an old man becomes a new; but there is no such notion in the celestial hierarchy, because no old and new angels: they which fell, are fallen for eternity; they which stand, always stood, and shall stand for ever. Where then are the regenerated *thrones and dominions* ?—Where are the recreated *principalities and powers* ?"[a]

Since then we read in the New Testament only of two creations,—the one original and physical, the other new and moral,—since one or other of these creations

[a] *On the Creed*, fol. ed. p. 116.

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ted all things by Christ Jesus—τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The concluding words of this passage are explained by Beza, Hammond, Whitby, and Macknight, as relating at once to the old and to the new creation. Grotius explains them of the new creation simply; and Schleusner adopts the same interpretation; for he renders these expressions, *qui omnes totos immutavit per Christum.* To such an interpretation of the verb κτίζω in Eph. iii, 9, it appears to be an all-sufficient objection, that on the examination of those passages in the works of the same author, in which the new creation is *undoubtedly* mentioned, it is proved to be untrue in fact, that the "omnes toti" were so created. The moral change which is thus designated, took place neither in all creatures, nor in all mankind; but only in the faithful followers of Jesus Christ: nor does it appear in any degree reasonable so to contract the meaning of τὰ πάντα, as to interpret that expression of "the few" amongst mankind, who are truly redeemed from sin.

The words διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ are here of doubtful authority, and are discarded from the text of Griesbach.

must be here designated by the verb κτίζω,—since all the things or beings which the apostle mentions as having been created, were truly the subjects of the first creation,—since much the greater proportion of those things or beings were not the subjects of the second creation,—we appear constrained to adopt the conclusion, that it is the *first* and not the *second* creation which is mentioned in this passage; and that the apostle has here instructed us in the doctrine, that all things celestial and terrestrial, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones or Dominions, or Principalities or Powers, were *originally and physically* created by the Son of God.

4. We have already observed, that the creation of all things by the Son or Word of God, was a doctrine held by many of the Jews at the Christian era. And that it was on this doctrine, *as received among his countrymen*, that Paul has placed the stamp of apostolic authority, is indicated in a manner at once curious and satisfactory, by the titles which he here employs to designate the Son of God. He declares that the Son is "the Image of the invisible God,—the First-begotten of the whole creation; *for* (or *because*) by him were all things created, &c.;" so that the creation of all things is adduced in exemplification of these titles, and, as it were, for the purpose of justifying their application to Jesus Christ. Now there are passages in the works of Philo, from which we learn that the ideas conveyed by these titles, according to the theology of the Jews, were *immediately connected* with the doctrine, that God physically created all things by means of his Word or Son.

In explaining the word ἀνατόλη (applied in Sept. version of Zech. iii, 8, to Joshua the High Priest) as

a name of that divine and spiritual Person, the Son of God, Philo writes as follows: Τοῦτόν μεν γὰρ Πρεσβύτατον Υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὄντων ἀνέτειλε Πατὴρ, ὃν ἑτέρωθι πρωτογόνον ὠνόμασε, καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέντοι μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁδοὺς, πρὸς παραδείγματα ἀρχέτυπα ἐκείνου βλέπων, ἐμόρφου εἴδη—"For the Father of all things *raised up* this his *Eldest Son*, whom he elsewhere denominates the FIRST BEGOTTEN; and he being begotten,—imitating the proceedings of the Father, whose original models he contemplated—formed species of beings."[a] Again, when explaining a passage in the book of Genesis, this author says, Τίς ἂν οὖν εἴη, πλὴν ὁ Λόγος ὁ Πρεσβύτερος τῶν γένεσιν-ειληφότων, οὗ καθάπερ οἴακος ἐνειλημμένος, ὁ τῶν ὅλων κυβερνήτης πηδαλιουχεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ ὅτε ἐκοσμοπλάσει χρησάμενος ὀργάνῳ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον τῶν ἀποτελουμένων σύνασιν—"Who can this be but the Word *who is elder than all created things*—of whom laying hold as of a rudder, the Governor of all conducts the universe; and whom, when he formed the world, he employed as his instrument, in the faultless composition of his finished works."[b]

In these passages, the doctrine that the Son of God was the First-begotten, and older than all things, and the further doctrine that God created the world by the intervention of his Son, are clearly connected. These doctrines, as recognized by the early Jews, evidently depended on one another; and, whether we consider the title First-begotten to be descriptive simply of the priority, or both of the priority and authority of the Son of God, it is in perfect consistency both with reason and with the known theological opinions of his countrymen, that the apostle adduces the creation of

[a] *De Confus. Ling.* Ed. Mangeii, vol. i, p. 414.
[b] *De Migrat. Abrah.* tom. i, p. 437.

all things by the Son, *as a proof* that he is the *First-begotten of the whole creation.*

The connexion which subsisted between the opinion that God created the world, and particularly *mankind*, by his Son, and the title applied to the latter of εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ—"the Image of God," is equally striking, as will appear from the testimony of the same writer. In his book of allegories, that author thus comments upon the Hebrew name Bezalëel, which may be interpreted "God in the shadow." Σκιὰ Θεοῦ δὲ, ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργανῷ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει· αὕτη δὲ ἡ σκιὰ καὶ τὸ ὡσανεὶ ἀπεικόνισμα, ἑτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος, ἣν σκιὰν νυνὶ κέκληκεν, οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, ὡς καὶ ἐνάρχομενος τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐδήλωσεν, εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ, ὡς τῆς μὲν εἰκόνος κατὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦδὲ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, λαβοῦσαν δυνάμιν παραδείγματος—"The shadow of God is his Word, whom he employed as his instrument when he made the world; this shadow, or as it were express image, *being the archetype of other things.* For as God is the model of the image which here he has denominated the shadow, *so the image becomes the model of other things.* Thus in the commencement of the law it is said, 'And God made man after the image of God;' the image having been produced after the pattern of God; and *man after that of the image* which in its turn assumes the character of a model."[a] In another place when speaking of the immortal soul, Philo observes τυπωθῆναι κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Ὄντος—"that it is formed after the image of Jehovah;" and adds Λόγος δὲ ἔστιν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο.—"Now the image

[a] Lib. iii, Ed. Mang. tom. i, 106.

of God is the Word, *by whom the whole world was fabricated.*[8] Lastly, he describes the Soul of man as τυπωθὲν σφραγῖδα (read σφραγῖδι) Θεοῦ ἧς ὁ χαρακτὴρ ἐστιν ὁ ἀϊδιος Λόγος—"formed by the seal of God, of which the eternal Word is the *engraven form.*"[9]

Since then the *physical* creation of all things by the Word or Son of God, was received, as a part of their theology, by many of the Jews who were cotemporary with the apostle; since the titles "Image of God" and "First-begotten of the world" were understood to be immediately connected with that doctrine; since the apostle applies to the Son these very titles in Col. i, 16, and *elucidates* them by the declaration, that "by him were all things created;" no one, surely, who in the explanation of scripture attaches a proper value to the light of antiquity, will refuse to acknowledge that the creation of which Paul makes mention, is the *physical creation.*

5. In confirmation of the commonly received interpretation of Col. i, 16, it only remains for us to adduce the express and uniform judgment of the early christian church. This passage of scripture has been frequently cited by the fathers; and always (as far as I have been able to observe) with reference to the doctrine, that all things were originally created by the Son of God. The following words of Origen afford a sufficient example: "The unbegotten God gave commandment to the First-begotten of the whole creation, and there were created not only the world and the things that are in it, but all other things whether thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers, for

[8] *De Monarchia*, lib. ii, tom. ii, 225.

[9] This passage affords a striking elucidation of Heb. i, 3, where Christ is called χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, the "express image of the substance" of God. *De Mundo*, tom. ii, p. 606.

all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things."[1]

If then the question be asked, why Col. i, 16 ought to be interpreted as relating to the *original creation of all things* by the Son of God; we may answer, Because the verb κτίζω must here denote *either* the original, or the new creation; because according to its *generally adopted* meaning, it denotes original creation; because the things here mentioned by the apostle were truly the subjects of such original creation; because many of them were *not* the subjects of the new creation; because the doctrine in question appertained to the theology of the Jews at the Christian era; because, according to that theology, it was connected with the very titles or descriptions of the Son, with which Paul has here connected it; and lastly, because this interpretation has received the uniform support of those writers, who, in consequence of their date and native language, possessed the best opportunity of forming a correct opinion of the apostle's meaning.

1 Ἐνετείλατο γὰρ ὁ ἀγέννητος Θεὸς τῷ Πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν οὐ μόνον ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοίπα πάντα, εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν ἐκτισται, καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων. *In Johan.* tom. ii, cap. 8. Ed. Ben. tom. iv, 67. See also *Orig. in Jerem.* hom. 15, Ed. Ben. tom. iii, p. 226. *Tertull. adv. Marcion*, lib. v, cap. 19, Ed. Seml. i, 462. *Athanas. contra Arian.* orat. iii, Ed. Col. i, 416. *Cyril. Hieros. Cateches.* xi, *de Fil. Unig.* 24. Ed. Ben. p. 161. *Chrysostom. in Johan.* hom. v, alias iv. Ed. Ben. tom. viii, 37. *Isidorus Pelus*, lib. iii, epis. 31. *Eusebius, Præp. Evang.* lib. xi, cap. 19. Ed. Col. 541. *Theodoret*, in loc. *Hilarius Episc. Tract. in Ps.* xci, Ed. Ben. p. 237. *Theophylact et Œcumen.* in loc.

No. 13.

On the preaching of Christ to the Antediluvians.

1 Pet. iii, 18, 19, 20. "Οτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθε, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων· ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασί ποτε, ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγαι τουτέσιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος.

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, *being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: by which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is eight souls, were saved by water:*" *Eng. Trans.*

This remarkable passage of Scripture is justly considered to contain an evidence of the preexistence and deity of Jesus Christ; for we may learn from it, that our Saviour, in his spiritual or divine nature, (whether by immediate revelation, or by the instrumentality of his prophet Noah,) preached to the rebellious inhabitants of the world, *before the flood.*

In order to elucidate and confirm this assertion, we may, in the first place, examine the declaration respecting Christ—that he was put to death, σαρκὶ, and quickened or raised again to life, πνεύματι.

Some learned men, and especially the late Bishop Horsley, have concluded that σάρξ here signifies the body as distinguished from the soul, and πνεῦμα the soul as distinguished from the body. Such an interpretation, however, is scarcely admissible; for if we take πνεῦμα, in this passage, as signifying the human soul of Christ, we shall be at a loss to account for the term ζωοποιηθεὶς—*quickened* or *made alive*. Though it may be justly said of Christ, that he was put to death in his body, on what grounds can it be asserted of him, that he was *made alive* either *in* or *by* his *soul?* Neither was his immortal soul capable of being itself quickened, nor can we conceive, that it was the instrument employed in effecting the resurrection of his mortal body. It has indeed been observed by Rosenmüller and other critics, that ζωοποιεῖν may here adopt a meaning which sometimes attaches to the parallel Hebrew verb חָיָה—"*in vita conservare*;" in which case ζωοποιηθεὶς πνεύματι may be rendered, "*preserved* or *kept* alive in his soul." But even where חָיָה has this peculiar signification, there is always a reference to some extraneous power by which the subject of the proposition is *caused to continue alive*;[a] and therefore, even in this sense, the term ζωοποιηθεὶς cannot be regarded as descriptive of the soul of Jesus, which, after the death of his body, continued to exist, because it was, in its own nature, indestructible.

As θανατωθεὶς denotes that Jesus *was put to death*, so it appears that ζωοποιηθεὶς can be understood only of his being *restored to life*. The former expression relates to his crucifixion, the latter therefore to his resurrection; and πνεύματι must be regarded as indi-

[a] Vid. Gen. vii, 3; Num. xxxi, 15; Ps. xxii, 29; Neh. ix, 6.

cating the power by which that resurrection was effected. According to the view of the subject which appears to have been taken by our translators, that power was the *Holy Spirit*—for they render the clause in question, "but *quickened by the Spirit.*" But the article τῷ, which was formerly read before πνεύματι, has, upon ample authority, been excluded from the text by Wetstein, Matthaei, and Griesbach; and even had the article been genuine, πνεύματι, without a preposition, would scarcely be capable of this particular meaning; for "there is no indisputable instance in the New Testament," says Bishop Middleton, "in which any thing is said to have been done or suffered by the Holy Spirit, where Πνεῦμα, whether in the genitive or dative case, is not governed by some *preposition.*"[a] We may conclude, therefore, with Leighton, Pearson, Beza, Calvin, Elsner, Newcome, and many other commentators, that the power by which Jesus is here declared to have been raised—the power expressed by the word πνεύματι—is that of *his own divinity.*

This explanation is in accordance with the doctrine of the apostle Paul, who expressly ascribes the resurrection of Jesus *to the divine power*,[b] and when speaking of Christ, declares that he is himself πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, "a *quickening* spirit."[c] It is in accordance also with the sayings of Jesus himself, who claimed a power of restoring the dead to life, equivalent to that of the Father;[d] asserted that he had power both to lay down his life and to *take it again*;[e] and actually promised to raise up the "temple" of his body in three days.[f]

Now, as πνεῦμα in this passage may be considered

[a] *On the Greek Art.* in loc. [b] 2 Cor. xiii, 4.—*comp.* Rom. vi, 4; 1 Cor. vi, 14. [c] 1 Cor. xv, 45. [d] John v, 21. [e] John x, 18. [f] John ii, 19.

to have an especial reference to the divine nature of Jesus Christ, so it appears that σάρξ signifies his *human nature.* For this term is familiarly used in the greek scriptures to represent *mankind;* and there are several passages of the New Testament, in which the humanity of Christ, as distinguished from his divinity, is denoted by this substantive. Thus we read that the "WORD was made or became *Flesh,*"[a]—that Jesus Christ, who was demonstrated to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit, "was made of the seed of David *according to the flesh*"[b]—that he who is "over all God blessed for ever," came of the Jews "as *concerning the flesh.*"[c] Our Redeemer was put to death σαρκὶ, in the flesh, i. e. as a mortal man, and he was raised again, πνεύματι, i. e. by the power of his spiritual or divine nature, *as being himself God.*

This distinction is forcibly stated by Theophylact, (after Chrysostom) in his commentary on this passage.[1] "Being put to death in the flesh, that is, as *man;* but quickened by the Spirit, that is, as *God.* By the term πνεύματι, he means to represent *God,* as by σαρκὶ also, he denotes *man.* Of the former, the evangelist is our witness, when he declares that *God* is a *Spirit*—of the latter, the whole scripture testifies. Hence it is evident, that Christ is *double,* not in person indeed, *but in nature.*"

Having thus endeavoured to ascertain the meaning of the apostle in his declaration, that Jesus Christ was

[a] John i, 14. [b] Rom. i, 4. [c] Rom. ix, 5; *comp.* Heb. ii, 14; 1 John iv, 2; vid. *Schleusner, Lex.* in voc.

1 Σαρκὶ θανατωθεὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς ἀνθρωπὸς· πνεύματι δὲ ζωοποιηθεὶς, ὡς Θεὸς· τὸ γὰρ Πνεύματι, τὸ Θεὸς βούλεται παριστᾷν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ σαρκὶ, τὸ, ἄνθρωπος. Τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς μάρτυς, Πνεῦμα, λέγων, ὁ Θεὸς . . . . τὸ δεύτερον δὲ πᾶσα ἡ θεία γραφὴ. ἐκ τούτου δὲ σαφὲς ὅτι διπλοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐ τῇ ὑποστάσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει.

" put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit," we may proceed to consider the next clause in the passage before us—ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, κ. τ. λ. " by (or in) which he went and preached to the spirits in prison, &c." .... In order to the elucidation of the doctrine which Peter has here promulgated, it may be remarked, in the first place, that, when our Saviour, in his *divine nature,* is represented as *going*, and *doing any thing*, these terms must be understood in the same general sense, which we are accustomed to ascribe to the declarations of Scripture, that God himself " descended" or " came" to effect any particular purpose. Such expressions set forth the more marked and peculiar exertions of *his* providence, who filleth all in all, and in whom, whatsoever may be our local situation, we live, and move, and have our being. It has indeed been observed by Elsner and Macknight, that πορευθεὶς may here be regarded as a pleonasm, πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, being nearly equivalent to ἐκήρυξεν *alone.* " Among the examples from scripture of this form," says Macknight, " the clearest and most direct is Eph. ii, 15—17; ' Having abolished in his flesh the enmity, &c.... καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο—and came and preached peace to you who are afar off, &c.' For it is certain that our Lord, after his resurrection, did not go personally to the Gentiles to preach peace to them. He preached to them by his apostles only. But if Christ is said, by Paul, to *go and do* what he did by his apostles, he may with equal propriety be said, by Peter, *to go and do* what he did by his prophet Noah."[a]

To whom then is our Lord in his divine nature described in this passage, as *going and preaching*, or

[a] In loc.

more simply as *preaching?* To "*the spirits in prison;* (τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι) *which sometimes were disobedient, when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, &c.*" The objects of his divine administrations are here expressly stated to have been the *disobedient antediluvians;* and we may conclude, that this race of mankind is described, first, as πνεύματα, because, at the time when the apostle wrote, they were no longer in the body; and secondly, as ἐν φυλακῇ, because they were then imprisoned in the mansion of separate spirits, being there reserved for future and final judgment. For the purpose, as it would seem, of removing from the passage some of its apparent difficulties, it has been suggested that "the spirits" here mentioned by the apostle, may simply denote "men," in the usual sense of that term; and that the "prison" of these persons was purely metaphorical—the bondage of the world, the flesh, and the devil. But the terms πνεύματα and φυλακὴ appear to be of too precise and singular a nature to admit of so loose an interpretation; nor need we hesitate in acceding to the more usual explanation of these expressions as stated by Schleusner.[a] "animis corpore exutis, quæ nunc in tartaro (quem poetæ veteres ferreas portas habere fingebant) conclusæ tenentur. Syrus recte h. l. interpretatus est *in inferno.* Conf. Apoc. xx, 7, λυθήσεται ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ."[2]

[a] in voc. 4.

2 Daniel Heinsius, in order to the elucidation of these expressions, has adduced some passages from the remains of the apocryphal book of Enoch, in which the impious giants before the flood, and in the days of Noah—the progeny of the sons of God, and the daughters of men—πνεύματα πονηρὰ, evil spirits,—are declared to have been bound and cast into prison, there to be reserved for the judgment of the last day: "Bind them," says the Supreme Being

Since, then, it must be allowed, that the objects of our Lord's divine administrations, recorded in this passage, were the rebellious antediluvians,—the spirits who, at the time when the apostle wrote, were in prison,—it only remains for us to decide the question, *When* Christ thus preached to them?

It was a notion current among some of the ancient fathers—a notion evidently grounded on this passage—that Jesus Christ, between his death and his resurrection, descended into Hades or Hell, the place of departed spirits, and there preached the Gospel to that race of sinners. This doctrine was brought forward so early as the close of the second century, by Clement of Alexandria,[a] and, after that time, was occasionally alluded to by the fathers of the church. Origen, for example, in one passage of his works, cites 1 Pet. iii, 19, as evincing *that those persons who had been destroyed by the deluge, were not left destitute of hope,*[3] and, in another place, he adduces the words of the apostle, to prove that our Saviour, during the period of his separation from the body, was diligently engaged in labouring for *the salvation of souls.*[4] Thus, also, Hilarius Pictavensis declares that we have the testimony of the apostle Peter, to prove that Jesus Christ *descended*

[a] Vid. *Strom.* lib. vi; Ed. Potter, p. 763.

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to the angel Michael, "for seventy generations in the low places of the earth, until the day of their judgment, until the day of the completion, when the judgment of eternity shall be consummated:" vid. *Rosenmüller Schol.* in loc.

[3] Non legunt quid scriptum sit *de spe illorum, qui in diluvio peremti sunt*, de qua spe Petrus ipse in prima epistola sua ita ait." *(Interp. Ruffino.) De Princip.* cap. 5. Ed. Ben. vol. i, p. 88.

[4] πολλῷ πλέον ἐνεργήσαντα περὶ σωτηρίας ψυχῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ χωρισμοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος. κ.τ.λ. *Selecta in Psalm.* vol. ii, p. 553.

into hell, and there exhorted those imprisoned souls who had been unbelievers in the days of Noah.[5]

In modern times, a similar interpretation of 1 Pet. iii, 19, has been advanced by Bishop Horsley,[a] who, as we have already remarked, explains πνεύματι of the *soul* of Christ. This he supposes to have descended into the region of departed spirits—the place of "safe keeping"—and there to have administered instruction and consolation to some of the antediluvians who had once been disobedient, but who, before their death, *repented of their unbelief and sin.* Such an interpretation of the passage may be very ingenious; but surely, on a sober estimate of the whole subject, it cannot be deemed, in any degree, satisfactory.[6]

[a] *Horsley's Serm.* xx.

5 "Scit testante apostolo Petro, descendente in inferna Domino, etiam his qui in carcere erant ἀπειθοῦσι increduli quoniam fuerant in diebus Noë, exhortationem prædicatam fuisse." *Tract. in Ps.* 118; Ed. Ben. p. 306.

6 It is well known that the descent of Christ into Hell, forms an article in the creed of the Church of England. From Bishop Pearson's dissertation on the subject, we learn, that this article was first introduced into the Aquileian creed, in which, from the context, it appears to relate simply to the burial of the body of our Lord *in the grave;* but that it is now understood to denote the descent of the soul of Christ, after the death of his body, into the region of departed spirits. Pearson candidly allows that this doctrine cannot be rightly deduced, either from 1 Pet. iii, 19; or from Eph. iv, 9; where we read that Christ who ascended, did *first* descend "into the lower parts of the earth." The former passage he interprets as relating to the divine operations of Christ in his preexistence; and with respect to the latter, he has no difficulty in concluding, that the descent of Christ, εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς, is nothing more than his descent *from heaven to earth.* The single passage on which the doctrine may fairly be considered to rest is Psal. xvi, 10. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," לֹא תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לִשְׁאוֹל—words applied to Christ in Acts ii, 31. If שְׁאוֹל here signifies the region of departed spirits—and it may adopt this meaning without any peculiar reference to the wicked more than the good—we learn from the passage, that the soul of Christ *underwent the whole law of death.* When separated from the body, it was gathered to the

Among the epistles of Augustine, a very interesting one is addressed to his brother Bishop, Evodius, in reply to some enquiries respecting the probable meaning of the apostle in this remarkable passage. Augustine declares himself to be greatly at a loss for a sound interpretation of the apostle's doctrine. For a time, he appears to take it for granted that Christ, between his crucifixion and resurrection, actually descended into hell—the prison in which were confined the rebellious antediluvians; but, on the one hand, he cannot conceive that these dismal regions could contain the souls of the righteous or the penitent; and, on the other hand, his mind revolts from the absurdity of the notion, that the Gospel was there preached to persons who had died in their sins. "Hanc opinionem si admittimus," says he, "qua putari potest homines qui, cum viverent, minime crediderunt, posse in Christum apud inferos credere, quis ferat quæ consequuntur *absurda fideique contraria ?*" Harrassed with these doubts and difficulties, this able theologian, near the close of his epistle, is visited with a ray of light which dispels and overcomes them all. Suddenly he seems to perceive the probability, that the supposed reference

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place of disembodied souls; where, however, it was not left, but was, at the period of the resurrection, restored to its former tenement.

After much reflexion, I am inclined to the opinion of Pearson, that this is the true meaning of the Psalmist, in these words of ancient prophecy, although it cannot be denied that the passage *may* be explained merely of the burial of our Saviour. The נֶפֶשׁ of the Hebrews, and the ψυχὴ of the Greeks, sometimes denote not the *soul* of a man, but his *person* or *body*, and even his *dead* body: see Num. vi, 6; Lev. xxi, 11, &c.; Heb. text and LXX. And שְׁאוֹל and ἅδης, frequently signify *the grave*, or the *place of graves:* see 1 Kings ii, 6, 9; Job vii, 9, &c. &c.: Heb. text and LXX; see *Taylor's Conc.* in voc.

of the apostle to the descent of our Lord into hell, is a mere fallacy; and that Christ, in his divine nature, preached to the antediluvians—not after their death, when their souls had been consigned to imprisonment, but during the time of their life and probation, *when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah.* "Ab initio generis humani," says this father, "vel ad arguendos malos, sicut ad Cain; et prius ad ipsum Adam et uxorem ejus, vel ad consolandos bonos, vel ad utrosque admonendos ut alii ad salutem suam crederent, alii ad pœnam suam non crederent, ipse utique *non in carne sed in spiritu* veniebat, visis congruis alloquens, quos volebat, sicut volebat. Quod autem dixi, in spiritu veniebat, et ipse quidem Filius *in substantia deitatis*, quoniam corpus non est, *utique spiritus est.* Sed quid facit Filius sine Spiritu Sancto, vel sine Patre, cum inseparabilia sunt Omnia opera Trinitatis? In quo spiritu adveniens, prædicavit et illis spiritibus qui increduli fuerant in diebus Noë. Quoniam prius quam venerit in carne pro nobis moriturus, quod semel fecit, *sæpe antea veniebat in spiritu ad quos volebat, visis eos admonens sicut volebat, utique in spiritu, quo spiritu vivificatus est cum in passione esset carne mortificatus.*"[a] This view of the apostle's doctrine, has since been adopted (as far as relates to its essential features) by many able and judicious modern critics; especially Beza, Pearson, Elsner, Macknight, and Newcome; and that it is correct, I cannot doubt; for, in the first place, it suits the words of the text, and is therefore, on philological principles, fully admissible; and, secondly, it is consistent with good sense, involves no absurdity or difficulty, and coincides with the unquestionable doctrines of Scripture, respecting the moral government of God

[a] *Epis.* 164. Ed. Ben. tom. ii, p. 573—581.

over men—respecting probation and divine visitation in this world, and fixed retribution in the world to come.

Whitby, in his commentary on this passage, informs us, that the Jews styled the age before the flood, the age of the Holy Spirit; and, if we are led to enquire in what manner it can be supposed that the Messiah, in his divine nature, preached to the antediluvians, a little reflexion will satisfy us, that it must have been by the agency of his Holy Spirit, which strove against their evil propensities, illuminated their consciences, and inspired the prophets who declared to the surrounding multitudes the truths of religion.

This subject is elucidated by a passage in Genesis, to which it is by no means improbable, that the apostle here alluded. When mankind, before the flood, were rapidly degenerating into a condition of extreme corruption, "the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years"—לֹא יָדוֹן רוּחִי, בָּאָדָם לְעֹלָם[a] It is true that some obscurity attaches to this passage, especially to the verb יָדוֹן which the Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate translators, with some other authorities, render in the sense of *permanebit*: and it is supposed that they either derived their interpretation of the verb from נָדָן *vagina*, (as if the Spirit of God dwelt in man like a sword in its sheath); or, (which is more probable) that for יָדוֹן they *read* יָלוֹן. This reading, however, is supported by no manuscripts, and the interpretation of the passage adopted by our translators, is now almost universally received. The root דון signifies *judicare, disceptare, litem vel causam agere.* The Holy Spirit, whether immediate-

[a] Gen. vi, 3.

ly or instrumentally exerted, is here described as pleading and striving against perverted man, in the forum of his own conscience; and it is declared, that this contest should not always continue, "for that he also is flesh"—that is, because of the prevalence of his carnal appetites. Nevertheless, *one hundred and twenty years were yet to be allotted to that fallen race before the coming of the flood, that they might have space to repent of their deeds.* Thus it was, therefore, that *when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing*, Christ, in his divine nature—the eternal Word of the Father—preached by his Spirit, to those disobedient spirits, who are *now* in prison.

This doctrine agrees with the previous incidental statement of this apostle, that the Spirit which bore testimony, in the ancient prophets, to our Lord's future coming and sufferings in the flesh, was *the Spirit of Christ.*[a] And now, it only remains to be remarked, that this view of 1 Pet. iii, 18—20, is suitable to the context, and falls in (better, I apprehend, than any other interpretation) with the bearing of the whole passage of which it forms a part. Peter is here engaged in exhorting his brethren to be bold in maintaining the truth, and steady in suffering for it. He animates them by adducing the example of Jesus Christ, who suffered, the just for the unjust, *even unto death.* But, had Christ continued under the dominion of death, the Christian, who suffers after his example, would have no hope. The apostle therefore very naturally adds, that although *as a mortal man* Christ died, yet he rose from the dead, by the power of his *divine or spiritual* nature. In this nature he has, in all ages, been the illuminator and

[a] Ch. i, 11.

instructor of mankind. The antediluvians, as well as their successors, were the objects of his merciful visitations; and, while many of them persisted in unbelief, and were therefore consigned to the regions of darkness, for their prison-house; yet, a small remnant of believers was preserved alive, *among the waters,* in the ark of God. With the means thus appointed for their deliverance, corresponds that saving *Christian baptism,* by which the heart of the believer in Jesus is cleansed, and the answer of a good conscience produced. This baptism is "by the resurrection of Jesus Christ;" for it is applied by the same all-powerful preacher of righteousness, who is risen from the dead, and "is on the right hand of God—*angels, and authorities, and powers, being made subject unto him.*" Well might the apostle therefore encourage the Christian converts to "arm themselves with the *same mind,*" as was in their once suffering and now glorified Messiah.

This indeed was the very purpose for which the gospel was preached to "them that are dead" (i. e. in trespasses and sins,) that those who believe "might be judged according to men in the flesh" (i. e. might, as mortals, be condemned by their fellow men, and suffer persecution, even unto death) but "in the spirit" (i. e. under the influence of the divine power of their Redeemer) might live "according to God," in righteousness here, and in eternal felicity hereafter.[a]

It appears then, first, that as the term ζωοποιηθεὶς, placed in opposition to θανατωθεὶς, can relate only to the resurrection of Christ, so πνεύματι, placed in opposition to σαρκὶ, must be understood of that *divine power* in him, by which his resurrection was effected—se-

[a] See Chap. iii, 17—22; iv, 1—6.

condly, that *by the same divine power*, he preached to the spirits now in prison, who were sometime disobedient—thirdly, that his preaching was by the immediate operation of his Holy Spirit, or through the instrumentality of the prophets—and lastly, that the known doctrines of Scripture respecting the present and the future life, the comparison, with this passage, of Gen. vi, 3, and the general tenor of the context, unite in evincing, that our Redeemer thus pleaded with the antediluvians—not after they were dead, and their souls imprisoned, but during the time of their probation, "*when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah.*"

What then are the doctrines respecting the history and nature of Christ, which we may fairly derive from this interesting passage? They are, *first*, that he existed before the flood, in the days of Noah; and *secondly*, that in his dealings with our fallen race (we well as in raising his own body from death) he exercised and displayed divine attributes, and is therefore truly GOD.

No. 14.

On the Angel who bore the name and displayed the attributes of GOD.

JOHN i, 18. Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

"No man hath seen God at any time. The Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, HE hath declared him:" *Eng. Trans.*

The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, and whose power and godhead are made manifest by his created works, is himself an invisible Being. All who profess to worship God, as the all-wise contriver of the machinery of nature, and as the moral governor of the world—Indians and Mohametans, as well as Jews and Christians—may be regarded as giving their assent to the doctrine of his *spirituality*. In the Holy Scriptures more especially, that doctrine is declared in terms of the most explicit and comprehensive kind.

"God is a Spirit."[a] God is "invisible."[b] "Behold," cried Job, "I go forward, but he is not there, and backward, but I cannot perceive him: on the left hand where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himself on the right hand that I cannot see him."[c] "No man hath seen God at any time."[d] "Keep this

[a] John iv, 24. [b] Col. i, 15; 1 Tim. i, 17; Heb. xi, 27. [c] Job xxiii, 8, 9. [d] John i, 18; 1 John iv, 12.

commandment..... until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his times HE shall show (who is) the blessed and only potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; WHOM NO MAN HATH SEEN NOR CAN SEE; to whom be honor and power everlasting.[a]

My object, in the present dissertation, is to compare with these inspired declarations of the spirituality and absolute invisibility of the Supreme Being, a fact, of which the Old Testament contains ample evidences; viz. that a PERSON bearing the titles, and exercising the attributes of JEHOVAH, appeared at various periods of the world, before the coming of Christ in the flesh, and conversed with the children and servants of God, in a human or angelic form. This PERSON, during the course both of the patriarchal and legal dispensations, was the guide and governor of the people of God. He "led them about, he instructed them, he kept them as the apple of his eye." He inspired their prophets, founded their laws, and pronounced their oracles. He rewarded them for their obedience, punished them for their rebellion, protected them from oppression, and destroyed their enemies. He was the object of their filial regard and spiritual allegiance. He received their worship, their sacrifices, and their vows.

These general positions respecting the *manifested* God of Israel—the Angel of Jehovah, who was Jehovah—will be found to agree with the records of his history, which we may now proceed to consider in their proper order.

Whether the Divine Being, in his communications with man before the flood, assumed, at any time, a

[a] 1 Tim. vi, 14—16.

visible form, is a question which the brief account of the antediluvian world, contained in the book of Genesis, scarcely enables us to decide. We read, however, that after they had "heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day;" Adam and Eve "hid themselves from his presence among the trees of the garden." And during the subsequent conversation which took place between them and their Maker—when he questioned them, and they answered his questions—it seems most probable, that as they heard him with the natural ear, so they beheld him with the natural eye.[a]

In the history of the people of God *after the flood*, we are left under no uncertainty on this subject; for it is plainly recorded, in the first place, that Jehovah was personally manifested to Abraham. It was after the patriarch had given evidence of his faith in God, by quitting his own country, and journeying into the land of promise, that Jehovah "*appeared*" unto him (יֵרָא) "and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto Jehovah, who *appeared* unto him."[b] The Hebrew verb rendered "appeared," denotes that the Lord *became visible;* and from another example of his "appearing" to Abraham, we learn that the divine Person, who thus condescended to visit and console his servant, was seen by him in a human form. The eighteenth chapter of Genesis contains a detailed account of one of the most remarkable communications, which man is any where described as having enjoyed with his Creator.

We read that "JEHOVAH appeared" to the patriarch, as he sat by his "tent door" in "the heat of the day," on "the plains of Mamre." And Abraham "lifted

[a] Gen. iii, 8—21. [b] Gen. xii, 7; *comp.* xvii, 1.

up his eyes and looked, and lo! three men stood by him: and when he saw them he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground." Of these three heavenly, though apparently *human* visiters, we find that one was superior to his companions, for to one exclusively did Abraham address himself, saying, "My Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant." Abraham then prepared for them the hospitable board; and after they had partaken of the repast, they enquired for Sarah his wife. And now the superior visiter began to converse with Abraham in the character of *Jehovah himself*.—"I will certainly return to thee according to the time of life, and lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard it in the tent door which was behind him," and "laughed within herself!" "And JEHOVAH said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh.... Is any thing too hard for JEHOVAH? At the time appointed I will return unto thee according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son.... And the men rose up thence and looked toward Sodom; and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way."[a]

From the comparison of the first verse in the following chapter, where we are informed that "the two angels[1] came to Sodom at even," it appears that only two out of the three individuals, who thus visited Abraham, proceeded, at that time, on their journey. The superior Angel, who was himself Jehovah, con-

[a] Gen. xviii, 1—16.

[1] "And there came two angels to Sodom at even:" E. T. In the Hebrew Text the article is expressed—וַיָּבֹאוּ שְׁנֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים—the passage containing an obvious reference to the two inferior angels who had been conversing with Abraham.

tinued for a while longer to converse with Abraham, and it was then that the patriarch so earnestly interceded with the "Judge of all the earth" for the preservation of the devoted city. "And Jehovah went his way as soon as he had left communing with Abraham, and Abraham returned unto his place."[a]

The subsequent narrative appears to indicate, that when this divine Person quitted the plains of Mamre, he joined his ministering angels at Sodom. "And it came to pass, when they had brought them (Lot and his family) forth abroad, that *he* said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain, escape to the mountain lest thou be consumed. And Lot said unto them, Oh not so my Lord: Behold now, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy in saving my life, &c." Lot now entreats permission to take refuge in Zoar, and is thus answered by Jehovah: "See I have accepted thee concerning this thing also....Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do any thing until thou be come thither....Then JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire FROM JEHOVAH out of heaven."[b]

The terms in which this last verse is couched are worthy of particular attention; for they appear to indicate a distinction between Jehovah *acting*, and Jehovah *originating*. We have already found occasion to remark that, in the Jerusalem Targum, "the *Word of Jah*" is here represented as executing vengeance on Sodom and Gomorrah, "from the presence of *Jah*, i. e. *Jehovah*." He who had appeared to Abraham, and had conversed first with him and afterwards with Lot—one who bore the name and exercised the

[a] Gen. xviii, 33. [b] Gen. xix, 17—24.

attributes of Deity—is here introduced to our view as the *agent* of another, and that other is *also* Jehovah.

These observations will serve to elucidate the fact, that the *Deus apparens* who governed the patriarchs, and was at the head of the *theocracy* of Israel, is sometimes denominated an *angel*—the "Angel of God," or the "Angel of Jehovah;" for the word rendered "angel," (מַלְאָךְ) simply denotes *a messenger*—one who is sent by another to perform any work, service, or commission, *in his behalf*. Thus, then, we shall have no difficulty in recognizing the divine Person who, in a human form, visited Abraham on the plains of Mamre, when we read that, on a subsequent occasion, "the ANGEL OF JEHOVAH called unto him out of heaven," and said, "Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him, for now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from ME."[a]

The story of Hagar contains an account of another manifestation of the Angel of Jehovah, who *was* Jehovah. When she was fleeing from the face of Sarai, "the Angel of Jehovah found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness.....and he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, whence camest thou, and whither wilt thou go? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress, Sarai. And the Angel of Jehovah said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the Angel of Jehovah said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude, &c." Here it is evident, that the Angel spoke in the character of God himself. Accordingly we read, that Hagar "called the name of JEHOVAH that spake unto her, THOU GOD SEEST ME:

[a] Gen. xxii, 11, 12.

for she said, have I also here *looked after* him that seeth me?"[a]

Twice do we read that Jehovah *appeared* (יֵרָא) to Isaac, to whom he repeated the promises already made to Abraham;[b] but a more detailed account of the manifestations of HIM who protected and guided the patriarchs, is to be found in the history of Jacob. When Jacob, on his journey to Padan-aram, tarried for a night at Bethel, he beheld in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, on which the angels of God ascended and descended. Jehovah himself stood above it, and proclaimed his gracious designs towards Jacob and his seed. "And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, surely JEHOVAH is in this place; and I knew it not. And he was afraid and said, how dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven! And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar and poured oil upon the top of it....and Jacob vowed a vow, &c. &c."[c]

We are in possession of evidence the most unexceptionable—that of the patriarch himself—that the Divine Person who thus manifested himself to his servant, and whose presence was felt to be so terrible, was the ANGEL OF GOD. "The angel of God spake unto me in a dream," said Jacob to his wives, "saying, lift up now thine eyes, &c..... I AM the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the pillar, and where thou vowedst a vow unto ME: now arise, get thee out of this land, and return unto the land of thy kindred."[d]

On the return of Jacob to the land of promise, his celestial Leader again appeared to him at Bethel, again

[a] Gen. xvi, 7—13; *comp.* xxi, 17—19. [b] xxvi, 2, 24. xxviii, 11—20. [d] xxxi, 11—13.

promised to him and to his seed the possession of the country around him, and having called him by the name of Israel, became the object of his eucharistical offering.[a] That name, which denoted his "*power with God*," had been already bestowed upon Jacob on a memorable occasion, during the course of his journey homewards.

We read that, on a certain night, after Jacob had parted, at the ford of the brook Jabbok, from his brother Esau, he "was left alone, and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint as he wrestled with him. And he said, let me go, for the day breaketh; and he said I will not let thee go except thou bless me. And he said unto him, what is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed. And Jacob asked him and said, tell me I pray thee thy name. And he said wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel, (that is, the *face of God:)* for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved."[b]

The prophet Hosea has alluded, in the following terms, to this passage in the history of Jacob—"Yea, he had power over *the angel* and prevailed: he wept and made supplication unto him: he found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us; even the LORD GOD OF HOSTS."[c] Thus are we furnished with clear evidence that HE who wrestled with Jacob, and whom the patriarch identified with the Supreme Being, was the Angel of Jehovah; the same divine Person, doubt-

[a] Gen. xxxv, 6—15. [b] xxxii, 24—30. [c] Hos. xii, 4, 5.

less, who had appeared to him in Bethel—the God of his life—the object of his allegiance, his oblations, and his vows. Let the Christian learn from this mysterious history, that it is at once his privilege and his duty, with all perseverance, to wrestle in prayer *with the Angel of the Covenant*, for his saving and sanctifying blessing!

A pious affiance on this his almighty deliverer, distinguished the character of Jacob to the close of his days. When on his death-bed, he blessed Joseph and his sons, saying, "God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk—the God which fed me all my life long unto this day—*the Angel which redeemed me from all evil*—bless the lads!"[a] "This," says the author of the Zohar, in his Commentary on the passage, is "the Angel Redeemer with whom is found every redemption in the world."[b]

In the history of Moses and of the Israelites in his day, this protecting and redeeming Angel is brought prominently into view. It was from *him*, that Moses received his first commission. When on the sides of Horeb, he was feeding the flock of Jethro, "the *Angel of Jehovah* appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.... and GOD called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. Moreover he said, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his

[a] Gen. xlviii, 15, 16. [b] Gen. fol. 122, col. 485; *Scoettgen. de Messiâ*, p. 145.

face, *for he was afraid to look upon God.* And Jehovah said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, &c. . . . . Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people, the children of Israel, out of Egyp . . . . . I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you."[a]

The *Shechina* or *Presence* of God, which went before the Israelites, during their journey, in a cloud by day and in a pillar of fire by night, is identified by the Targumists and by the author of the Zohar, with the Word or Angel of God. Such also appears to have been the doctrine of *Moses.* We read, that after Pharaoh and his host had pursued the Israelites, and had overtaken them on the shores of the red sea, "the *Angel of God* which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them: and the *pillar of the cloud* went from before their face and stood behind them: And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to them, but it gave light by night to these: so that the one came not near the other all the night."[b]

Can any thing be conceived more sublime than the picture here presented to our view? The multitudes of Israel reposing by night, on the sea shore—their tents illuminated by the beams of a miraculous fire; while the Egyptians, under an incumbent cloud, are lost in confusion, and separated from the objects of their pursuit, by an impassable wall of darkness! May we not compare with the condition of Israel on this occasion, that of the Christian traveller, who in the midst of his dangerous pilgrimage through life, is some-

[a] Exod. iii, 1—14.—*Comp.* John viii, 58. [b] Exod. xiv, 19, 20.

times enabled to rest under the light of the Sun of righteousness, and to trust to the impenetrable covering of his presence, for protection from the power of Satan?

In the passages which have hitherto been quoted, it seems impossible not to trace a distinction between the invisible JEHOVAH, and that mysterious Person, one with Him in name and attributes, through whom he was made manifest to his servants. Although in the account given in Exodus, of the communications of the Deity with Moses on mount Sinai, this distinction is involved in greater obscurity, we are not left without a clue by which some of the difficulties connected with the subject, appear to be unravelled. On certain memorable occasions, it was the high privilege of Moses to behold "the similitude" or visible form (תְּמוּנַת) of his divine Master, and to speak with him "mouth to mouth."[a] On all such occasions analogy affords a strong presumption, that the Angel of God who had already appeared to him under the character of Jehovah, was, exclusively, the Person with whom he communicated. On the other hand, when all reciprocal intercourse is suspended, and God—unseen by mortal eye—is introduced as the sole speaker, it is plain that such a restriction can no longer be maintained.

The former of these descriptions, applies to the history contained in Exodus xix. There we read, that "Moses went up unto God," and received a commandment to sanctify the people against the third day, when Jehovah would "come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai."[b] "And it came to pass on the third day, in the morning, that there were thun-

[a] Vid. Num. xii, 8. [b] Exod. xix, 3—11.

ders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God .... and Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in a fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mountain quaked greatly."[a] Moses was then called up into the mountain, and was there introduced into the immediate presence of his Lord, with whom, it appears, that he was permitted to hold a *reciprocal* and *personal* conversation. It was probably in allusion to this and some other similar occasions, that Stephen, when speaking of Moses, said—"This is he that was with the church in the wilderness, *with the Angel that spake to him in the Mount Sina.*"[b]

In the four following chapters the case appears to be very different. No *conversation* is there described as taking place between the Lord and Moses. But God, from out of that "thick darkness" wherewith he was pleased to veil himself from all human vision, proclaims his moral law in the hearing of all the people, and afterwards reveals to Moses the particulars of that civil and criminal code, by which the Israelites were to be governed.[2] At the close of this extended communication, Jehovah speaks as follows: "Behold I send an angel before thee to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware

[a] Exod. xix, 16—18. [b] Acts vii, 38.

[2] It is a circumstance well worthy of notice, that God, even the Father, although ever declared to be invisible, is repeatedly described as speaking to his people in an audible voice. See Matt. iii, 17; xvii, 5.—*Comp.* John xii, 28.

of him and obey his voice; provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions; for MY NAME IS IN HIM. But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries; for MINE ANGEL shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; and I will cut them off. Thou shalt not bow down to their gods nor serve them, nor do after their works: but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images. And ye shall serve the Lord your God, and he shall bless thy bread and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of thee."[a] Now it appears to be a clear point, (as is allowed by the generality of commentators,) that the angel thus promised to the people as their guide, protector, and deliverer, whose voice it was their duty to obey, who would not *pardon their iniquities*, and in whom, above all, was the *name of God*, could be only the Angel of the Covenant—even the LORD himself—who had so frequently appeared to them in the same character. Philo applies this passage to the Word or First-born Son of God.[b] The author of the Zohar says, that the angel here mentioned is the *Redeemer of the world, the preserver of men.*[c] The Rabbins, according to Jarchi, assert that this angel is *Metatron*, whose name is as the name of his Master—for by *gematry* this name (probably a corruption of "*Mediator*") is the same as *Shaddai, the Almighty.*[3]

[a] Exod. xxiii, 20—25. [b] *De Agric.* Ed. Mang. vol. i, 308.
[c] Gen. fol. 124, col. 494, *Schoettgen*, p. 149.

[3] See *Gill* in loc. To these Jewish Testimonies, may be added that of Gerundensis, who says, "This is the Angel, the Redeemer, in the midst of whom is the great name, because in Him is Jehovah, the

This also must surely have been the *angel of God's presence*, whose gracious dealings with his people are commemorated by the prophet Isaiah. Speaking of God and of the people, the prophet says—"In all their afflictions he was afflicted,[4] and *the Angel of his presence* saved them. In his love and in his pity HE redeemed them, and bare them and carried them all

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Rock of Ages: and it is He who said, 'I am the God of Bethel.'" *Comp.* Gen. xxxi, 11—13. The words of Gerundensis are quoted by several Commentators—Vid. *Cartwright*, in loc. inter *Crit. Sac.* It is not however clear whether his words apply to this passage, or to Exod. iii, 2, where we read of the Angel who appeared to Moses in the bush.

[4] Isa. lxiii, 9. בְּכָל־צָרָתָם לֹא צָר וּמַלְאַךְ פָּנָיו הוֹשִׁיעָם בְּאַהֲבָתוֹ וּבְחֶמְלָתוֹ הוּא גְאָלָם וַיְנַשְּׂאֵם וַיְנַטְּלֵם כָּל־יְמֵי עוֹלָם׃

Instead of לֹא "non," the Masorites read, לוֹ "illi," a reading which has been adopted by the English translators, who render the first part of this passage as follows: "In all their afflictions *he* was afflicted." This Masoretical reading, however, is opposed to the authority of almost all collated MSS., as well as to that of all the ancient versions.

Bp. Lowth, in his version of this passage, has followed the Septuagint, and has rendered צָר as if it were the same word as צִיר *a messsenger*. "It was not an envoy, nor an angel of his presence, that saved them: through his love and his indulgence, He himself redeemed them, &c." This version is, in point of meaning, an excellent one; and if it is correct, it must be fully allowed, that the prophet there speaks of an angel as an inferior agent. These expressions can, in that case, bear no allusion to the Angel of Jehovah, who *was* Jehovah, and whose guidance and protection was the peculiar and glorious privilege of the Lord's ancient people. It does not appear, however, that there is any sufficient authority for such a version. None of the MSS. read צִיר, and צִיר, *nuncius*, is never written without the י. It may also be observed, that had the prophet here alluded to an inferior angel, he would scarcely have denominated him the Angel of *God's presence*, a title exalted and glorious, and probably applicable only to the Angel of the Covenant. If we take צָר as a verb, from the root צוּר, we may render, "In all their affliction, he did not *oppress them*, but the angel of his presence saved them:" *so Syriac and Targum.*

the days of old!"[a] The personal pronoun HE, before the verb *redeemed*, is in the Hebrew emphatic, and is best understood as relating to the *Angel of God's presence*, whom the father of the twelve tribes himself confessed to be his *Redeemer* from all evil![b]

After the civil and criminal law of the Jews had thus been communicated to Moses, and the promise given of the presence and aid of their Almighty Protector, Moses was again called up into the mount, in company with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu. On this occasion there appears to have been a renewed visible manifestation of that divine Person; for we read that "they *saw* the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were the paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness!" Moses now drew near unto God, and "a cloud covered the mount."[c] Concealed by this cloud from all beholders, he continued in the mountain for the space of forty days and nights, during which time there were delivered to him directions for making the tabernacle, and a great part of the sacrificial and ceremonial law. On his descent, the Patriarch discovered the idolatry into which the people had fallen; and, when he went up once more and interceded with the Lord for the forgiveness of his people, the answer given to him was as follows: "Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. Therefore now go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee—Behold mine angel shall go before thee"[d] ..... Again, "I will send an angel before thee, and I will drive out the Canaanite, &c.....for I will not go up in the midst of thee, for thou art a stiff-necked people:

[a] Isa. lxiii, 9. [b] *Comp.* Gen. xlviii, 15, 16. [c] Exod. xxiv, 9—15. [d] xxxii, 33, 34.

lest I consume thee in the way. And when the people heard these *evil* tidings, they mourned, &c."[a]

Here, we may presume, the promised angel could not be the *Angel of the Covenant*, whose mission was to be the strength and consolation of the people of God. Rather are we to understand that divine Person to be himself the *speaker*, who threatens to withdraw his own immediate presence, and to accomplish the purposes of his providence, only through the instrumentality of some created agent; and *therefore* the people *mourned.*

This interpretation corresponds with what follows; for, immediately afterwards, the cloudy pillar (wherein was the angel of God[b]) descended and stood at the door of the tabernacle—and the LORD spake unto Moses "*face to face* as a man speaketh unto his friend." Finally he acceded to the prayers of his servant, and said, "MY PRESENCE shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest."[c] Moses soon afterwards prays that he may behold the *glory* of his Lord. The Lord grants his petition, permits to his servant a glimpse even of his *glory*, and, maintaining at once the character of God and of God's commissioned Messenger, he descends in the cloud, passes by, and proclaims the name of JEHOVAH. "Jehovah, Jehovah—God—merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy and truth: keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and to the fourth generation!"[d]

Moses bows his head, worships the manifested God

[a] Exod. xxxiii, 2, 3, 4. [b] *Comp.* Exod. xiv, 19. [c] xxxiii, 14. [d] xxxiv, 5—7.

of Israel, and beseeches him to continue to bestow on his people, his mercy and protection. In order to the further elucidation of the subject, it is necessary for us to take particular notice of the terms in which Jehovah responds to this petition.—"Behold I make A COVENANT: before all thy people I will do marvels, &c. &c.....Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. *Take heed to thyself lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee: but ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves;* for thou shalt worship no other God; for Jehovah, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God."[a]

The divine Person, who thus consented to accompany the Israelites, and to drive out their enemies before them, is easily recognized in the Captain of the Lord's host, whom Joshua, when "by Jericho," beheld and worshipped, and who said to him, like the Angel in the bush to Moses, "Loose thy shoe from off thy foot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy."[b] Still more striking however is the light thrown on the subject, in the second chapter of Judges.[c] There we read, that after the children of Israel had obtained a settlement in the land of promise, "*the Angel of Jehovah* came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, I made you go up out of Egypt, and have brought you unto the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break MY COVENANT with you. And, *ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of the land: ye shall throw down their altars:* but ye have

[a] Exod. xxxiv, 10—14. [b] Jos. v, 14, 15. [c] Ver. 1—4.

not obeyed my voice: why have ye done this? Wherefore, I also said, I will not drive them out from before you, but they shall be as thorns in your sides, and their gods *shall be a snare unto you.* And it came to pass, when the Angel of Jehovah spake these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lifted up their voice and wept."[5]

5 Judg. ii, 1. מַלְאַךְ־יְהוָה. The Angel of Jehovah. Although the Hebrew words are not preceded by the article, they may be rendered indifferently, *an* Angel of Jehovah, or *the* Angel of Jehovah. In the passages which relate to the Angel of the Covenant, the common English version for מַלְאַךְ has sometimes "an angel," and at other times, "the angel." I have adopted throughout the latter mode of translation, on the ground that all these passages appear to relate to an individual. מַלְאַךְ־יְהוָה may be said to be his *proper name.*

וַיַּעַל מַלְאַךְ־יְהוָה מִן־הַגִּלְגָּל אֶל־הַבֹּכִים
וַיֹּאמֶר אַעֲלֶה אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם

"And the Angel of Jehovah came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, I made you go up out of Egypt, &c." In the Septuagint version, the force of this passage, *as it relates to the Angel*, is eluded by the introduction of the words Τάδε λέγει Κύριος. "Thus saith the Lord." So also the Syriac version. There is nothing in the Hebrew text corresponding with these words, which were probably supplied by the translators in question, for the purpose of completing what *they* conceived to be the sense of the passage. Amongst the vast numbers of Hebrew MSS. which have been collated, not one contains any expressions of the kind: and that the Jews in very early times, read this text precisely as we now read it, is clearly proved by the Targum of Jonathan. In several editions of the Hebrew Bible, we find between the words הַבֹּכִים and וַיֹּאמֶר a *lacuna*, or blank space, by which some of the Jews probably intended to express their *opinion*, that certain words not in the text, were there to be understood as having once belonged to it. On this subject it may be remarked, 1st, that had the view of these Jews been the same with that of the Septuagint and Syriac translators, the lacuna must have been placed *after* the word וַיֹּאמֶר instead of before it; and 2ndly, that in the plurality of MSS. and ancient editions, the lacuna is not to be found. "In plerisque MSS. et antiquis editionibus," says, De Rossi, "deest piskà seu lacuna, quæ ibi conspicitur."

On the comparison of Exod. xxxiv, 10—14, with Judg. ii, 1—4, is it not evident that Jehovah, who conversed face to face with Moses, was the *Angel of the Covenant*, and that the Angel who spake to the Israelites of the covenant which he had made with them, was *Jehovah?*

The care which the Angel of God displayed towards his people Israel did not cease with their settlement in the land of promise. Twice more we read of his appearing during the times of the judges; first, to Gideon, and afterwards to Manoah and his wife, the father and mother of Sampson.

While Gideon was sitting under an oak at Ophrah, the Angel of Jehovah appeared to him, and said, "Jehovah is with thee, thou mighty man of valor!" And Gideon said unto him, "Oh my Lord, if Jehovah be with us why then is this befallen us?".....And *Jehovah looked upon him* and said, "Go in this thy might, and thou shalt save Israel from the hands of the Midianites. Have not I sent thee?" Gideon in reply, pleads his own poverty and inability for the work assigned him. "And *Jehovah* said unto him, surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites as one man." Gideon now begins to suspect *who* is condescending to converse with him. "If now I have found grace in thy sight," said he, "show me a sign that thou talkest with me." He then retires, fetches his presents of a kid and unleavened cakes, and at the Angel's command lays them on the rock. "Then the Angel of Jehovah put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and there rose up fire out of the rock and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes. Now the Angel of Jehovah departed out of his sight.

And when Gideon perceived that he was the Angel of Jehovah, Gideon said, Alas! O Lord God! for because I have seen the Angel of Jehovah face to face. And JEHOVAH said unto him, Peace be unto thee, fear not, thou shalt not die. And Gideon built an altar there unto Jehovah."[a]

When again the angel was conversing with Manoah and his wife, and had promised them the birth of their son, Manoah knew not who he was, and said to him, "What is thy name, that when thy sayings come to pass, we may do thee honor?" And the Angel of Jehovah said unto him, Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is *secret* (or *wonderful?*[6]) So Manoah took a kid with a meat offering and offered it upon a rock unto *Jehovah.* And he (i.e. Jehovah—the Angel) did wonderously; and Manoah and his wife looked on. For it came to pass when the flame went up toward heaven from off the altar, that the Angel of Jehovah ascended in the flame of the altar. And Manoah and his wife looked on it and fell on their faces to the ground.....And Manoah said unto his wife, we shall surely die, *because we have seen God.*"[b] It appears that in both these recitals, the visiting Angel is called *Jehovah;* speaks in the character of God; receives sacrificial worship, and excites in those who behold him the terrors of death, by the awfulness of his divine presence.

After the Israelites had subjected themselves to the government of their kings, the appearances of the Angel of the Covenant became a less prominent feature of their history, of which the circumstances of the

[a] Jud. vi, 12—24. [b] xiii, 16—22.

[6] פֶּלְאִי the same expression is applied to the *Son of God* in Isa. ix, 5.—*comp.* Gen. xxxii, 29.

case afford an obvious reason. Until that period had arrived, the government of Israel, although conducted by the agency of commanders and judges, was a pure theocracy, and the Angel of Jehovah was their king. It was want of faith in his power and presence, and want of willingness to obey his commands, which induced them to require at the hand of his prophet Samuel, a monarch from among themselves. The Holy One of Israel was rejected by a faithless and rebellious people; and it is probable that he withdrew from them, in consequence, much of that immediate and often visible presence, which had formerly been their highest privilege.

We are not, however, to forget that the glorious cloud which filled the temple after it had been dedicated by Solomon, and from which, in the Holy of Holies, the voice of God's oracle was afterwards accustomed to emanate, indicated the presence of the *Shechina*, that is of the Word of God—the Angel of Jehovah; and there were occasions on which the *Holy One* was seen in vision by some of the most eminent of his prophets.[a]

"In the year that king Uzziah died," said Isaiah, "I saw JEHOVAH sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the Seraphims; each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is JEHOVAH OF HOSTS: the whole earth is full of his glory."[b] A conversation is then described as taking place between Jehovah and his prophet, corresponding, in point of

[a] See *Prideaux, Conn.* fol. ed. vol. i, p. 119. [b] Isa. vi, 1—3.

mode, to the communications of the *manifested* Deity with Abraham, with Jacob, and with Moses.

A similar privilege was afterwards permitted to Ezekiel, who beheld a glorified human form on a throne above the Cherubim, which he describes as "the appearance of the likeness of the glory of Jehovah."[a] It might probably be the same divine Person whom Daniel denominates, "Michael the great Prince who standeth for the children of his people:"[b] and who, in the visions of that devoted servant of God, appeared in the figure of "a man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz.....His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in color to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude."[c]

We frequently read that the *Word* of Jehovah came to *Jeremiah* and spake unto him; and sometimes that the prophet replied and was again spoken to in return.[d] That, on such occasions, the prophet, either externally or in vision, beheld the *Angel of the Covenant*, the comparison of other passages of Scripture affords a considerable presumption. *Amos* expressly informs us that, on more than one occasion, he *saw* JEHOVAH;[e] but there are no visions of this description which throw so much light on our present subject as those of *Zechariah*.

"The Word of the Lord" came to Zechariah in the second year of king Darius, and shortly after the return of himself and the other Jews to the city of their forefathers. On that occasion the prophet was brought

[a] Isa. i, 28:—*comp.* ix, 4; xliii, 3, &c. [b] xii, 1. [c] x, 5, 6; vid. *Gill* in loc. [d] See i, 4, 11, 13:—*comp.* xxiv, 1. [e] Amos vii, 7; ix, 1.

into communication with two angels—the one subordinate, the other superior—the one acting as a mere messenger, the other, though himself also a messenger, bearing the character of Jehovah. In the first chapter, the superior Angel appears as "a man riding upon a red horse, and standing among the myrtle trees; and behind him were red horses, speckled and white." It appears that on these horses were placed attendant spirits, who "answered the Angel of Jehovah who stood among the myrtle trees, and said, We have walked to and fro through the earth, and behold all the earth sitteth still and is at rest." The Angel who "talked" with the prophet (the subordinate one) then addressed a prayer to Jehovah (that is, I conceive, to his then visible Superior) on behalf of Jerusalem. "And Jehovah," says the prophet, "answered the angel that talked with me, with good words, and with comfortable words."[a]

In the subsequent vision, the distinction between the two angels becomes yet more apparent, and the divine character of one of them is clearly marked. The inferior angel now appears with a measuring line in his hand. "I lifted up mine eyes and looked, and beheld a man with a measuring line in his hand. Then said I, Whither goest thou? and he said unto me, to measure Jerusalem.

And behold, the Angel that talked with me went forth, and another (or the other) Angel (that is the Superior) went out to meet him, and said unto him, Run, speak to the young man, saying" ..... The prophecy which follows therefore must be considered as delivered to Zechariah by the inferior Angel, in the name and by the commission of his superior, who main-

[a] Zech. i, 1—13.

tains the character, at once, of the *sent of God* and of *Jehovah himself.* "Jerusalem shall be inhabited as towns without walls ..... Ho, ho! come forth and flee from the land of the north, saith *Jehovah* .....Deliver thyself, O Zion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon. For thus saith *Jehovah of Hosts,* After the glory, hath he *sent* me unto the nations which spoiled you: for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye; for behold I will shake mine hand unto them ..... and ye shall know that *Jehovah of Hosts* hath *sent* me. Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for lo! I come and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith *Jehovah.* And many nations shall be joined to *Jehovah* in that day, and shall be *my* people; and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that *Jehovah of Hosts* hath *sent* me unto thee. And *Jehovah* shall inherit Judah, his portion in the holy land, and shall choose Jerusalem again. Be silent, O all flesh, before *Jehovah,* for he is raised up out of his holy habitation."[a]

The evidences afforded by this prophecy respecting the divinity and gracious offices of the Angel, are completed in the prophet's next vision. "And he (the ministering spirit) showed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the *Angel of Jehovah,* and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And *Jehovah* said unto Satan, *Jehovah* rebuke thee, O Satan, even *Jehovah* that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee! is not this a brand plucked out of the fire? Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments and stood before the Angel. And he answered and spake unto them who stood before him, saying, Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him, he said, Behold, *I have caused*

[a] Zech. ii, 6—13.

thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment."[a] This surely was the Angel who spake to the patriarchs, *in the name* of Jehovah, and yet *was* Jehovah; who "*redeemed* Jacob from *all evil*;" who "*redeemed*" the Israelites in the wilderness; who "is found (as the author of the Zohar says) in every redemption in the world!"

One more passage of Scripture remains to be cited, respecting this Angel—a passage which (like that now quoted from Zechariah) foretells his appearing at Jerusalem, and marks his *divinity*, while it declares his *mission*. "Behold I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before thee, and the LORD whom ye seek shall suddenly come to *his temple*, even the Messenger (or Angel) of the covenant (מַלְאַךְ הַבְּרִית) whom ye delight in; behold he shall come, saith Jehovah of Hosts. But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap. And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto Jehovah an offering in righteousness.[b]

Such is the history of the ANGEL OF JEHOVAH, whose attributes and works, in various ages before the Christian era, were of so great importance to the children of God. No one, I conceive, who takes a deliberate view of the passages of the Old Testament which have now been cited, can hesitate in adopting the opinion that they relate to an *individual*—one distinguished by most singular and striking characteristics from all other messengers of the Most High. We know the scriptural definition of *Angels*. "Are they not all,"

[a] Zech. iii, 1—4. [b] Mal. iii, 1—3.

says the apostle, "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?"[a] But to the Being described in these parts of Scripture, belongs the great peculiarity, that he exercises the functions of providence in his own person. Thus he declares to Hagar that he will multiply her seed exceedingly:[b] and, on his own authority, promises Isaac to Sarah, and Sampson to the wife of Manoah.[c] It was a marked and essential part of his offices, to guide and govern the children of Israel. The Angel whom God sent to bring them into the promised land,[d] was obviously the same with *him* who conducted the people through the wilderness, in the cloud and the pillar of fire,[e] and who afterwards reminded them that *he* had made them go up out of Egypt—that *he* had brought them into the land of Canaan.[f] Again, in one of these passages, it is declared, that he will not pardon the iniquities of the people; and in another, we find him denouncing judgment upon them for their folly and disobedience.[g] He was yet more plainly marked as the destroyer of Israel's foes; in which point of view, we can scarcely fail to identify *him* who confounded the Egyptians by the Red Sea, with *him* who encouraged the warfare of Joshua, and with *him* who won the victories of Gideon.[h] In these various particulars, the history and conduct of an individual are easily traced, but the main characteristic by which the Angel, described in these passages, is distinguished from all mere ministering spirits, is this—that the name of GOD was in him,[i]—that he speaks as GOD,[k]—is spoken of as GOD[l]—is addressed

[a] Heb. i, 14. [b] Gen. xvi, 10. [c] Gen. xviii, 13; Judg. xiii, 5. [d] Exod. xxiii, 20. [e] Exod. xiv, 19. [f] Judg. ii, 1, 2. [g] Exod. xxiii, 21; Judg. ii, 3. [h] *Comp.* Exod. xiv, 19; with Jos. v, 13; and Judg. vi, 14. [i] Exod. xxiii, 21. [k] iii, 2. [l] Judg. xiii, 22.

as GOD[a]—is frequently identified with JEHOVAH—and, in short, is scarcely ever brought forward to our notice without some positive indication of his deity.

In support of this point of our argument, it may be well to adduce the testimony of a learned Jewish writer—Moses Ben Nachman. When commenting on the appearing to Joshua of the captain of the host of the Lord, he says, "This angel, that I may explain the subject, is the Angel Redeemer of whom it is written, For my name is in him."[b] He is the Angel who said to Jacob, I am the God of Bethel.[c] He it is of whom it is said, God called to Moses out of the bush:[d] and he is called an angel, because he governs the world. For it is written, Jehovah (that is the Lord God) brought us up out of Egypt; and elsewhere, *He sent his Angel* and brought us up out of Egypt. Again it is written, And the Angel of his presence saved them,[e]—that angel, namely, who is the Presence of God; of whom it is said, My presence shall go with thee and I will give thee rest.[f] *Finally, this is the Angel of whom the prophet says, He whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Angel of the Covenant whom ye delight in.*[g]

Who then was this mysterious *individual*, who combined in his own character and conduct these singular characteristics—who so often appeared as the present Deity, the almighty friend and protector of the patriarchs and their descendants? To this question, which ought to be approached with great reverence and caution, may, in the first place, be returned a negative answer. The analogy of Scripture, and some of the

[a] Gen. xvi, 13. [b] Exod. xxiii, 21. [c] Gen. xxxi, 13. [d] Exod. iii, 4. [e] Isa. lxiii, 9. [f] Exod. xxxiii, 14. [g] Mal. iii, 1: vide *Grotius de Verit.* lib. v, cap. xxi, *in notis.*

plainest dictates of theological truth, appear to forbid our supposing that it was GOD THE FATHER.

God the Father, as we have already found occasion to remark, is represented to us in Scripture, as invariably spiritual and invisible. While he fills all things with his presence, no man either hath seen or can see him. Such is the express doctrine of the apostle Paul, and even of our Lord himself; and therefore we must conclude that the glorious Person, who, while he claimed the names and attributes of deity, conversed, face to face, with the patriarchs and prophets, assumed the form of a man or an angel, and was so frequently beheld by the natural eye, was *not* God the Father. And this conclusion is amply confirmed by the consideration that this Person proclaims the name of Jehovah—speaks and acts in behalf of Jehovah—and is very frequently described as the *agent*, the *messenger*, the *sent*, of God.

Now while we are thus precluded from applying these passages to the FATHER, there are abundant reasons for our concluding that they relate to THE SON; that is, to our Lord Jesus Christ in his preexistence. These reasons may now be briefly stated.

I. The very characteristics which lead us to believe that this mysterious Person was not the FATHER, afford a palpable indication, that he *was* the SON. One who claims the attributes of God himself, is denominated a messenger, and is described as manifested in a visible form. In these respects, there is a perfect resemblance between the history and character of the Angel, and those of Jesus Christ. Each bears the names and exercises the powers of God; and the evidences in the New Testament, of the deity of the one, are remarkably similar both in degree and in kind, to those in the

Old Testament of the deity of the other. Both the Angel and Christ are described as sent of the Father, and as acting under *his* authority and *his* commission. Both are visibly manifested, and manifested in a human form. It is true, that the humanity of Christ was real and absolute, and that of the Angel of the Covenant, as we may believe, only apparent. But it is a strictly analogous circumstance, that He who, when he possessed no other than the divine nature, condescended to become visible in the likeness after which man was created, should afterwards become incarnate, in the *nature* as well as the *form* of man. Christ—that eternal WORD OF LIFE, which was "with the Father," was manifested to his people—was *seen, looked upon,* and *handled.*[a] Then did his disciples *behold* his glory, "the glory as of the *only-begotten of the Father.*"[b]

It was indeed one of the leading characteristics of Jesus Christ—a characteristic attaching with equal precision to the Angel of the Covenant—that in him God was revealed to mankind—that whosoever saw and heard him, saw and heard the Father who dwelt in him, and with whom he was *one,*[c]—that he was the brightness or *apparent effulgence* (ἀπαύγασμα) of the Father's glory—the express image (χαρακτὴρ) of his substance,[d]—the *visible* Image (εἰκὼν) of the *invisible* God.[e]

But the present argument does not depend, for its force, on a bare analogy, however close and striking. We are furnished, in the New Testament, with indirect, yet substantial, evidence, that the *visible Deity,* of whom we read in the Old Testament, was the preexistent Jesus—the Son of God. The glory which Isaiah

[a] 1 John i, 1. [b] John i, 14. [c] John x, 30 ; xiv, 9, 10. [d] Heb. i, 3. [e] 2 Cor. iv, 4; Col. i, 15.

saw in the Temple when he beheld Jehovah on his throne, is described by the apostle, as *the glory of Christ;*[a] and the voice which shook the earth when the Law was delivered from Mount Sinaï—the voice of Him who *personally* conversed with Moses—is spoken of, in the epistle to the Hebrews, as the voice of the Messiah. After describing the terrors which preceded the delivery of the law on Mount Sinai; and after declaring that Christians are come "to Jesus the mediator of the New Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that *speaketh* (λαλοῦντι) better things than that of Abel;" he adds,[b] "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh (τὸν λαλοῦντα); for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, (χρηματίζοντα,) much more shall not we escape if we turn away from him (that speaketh, or rather *came* or *was*) from heaven, (τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν—i.e. Jesus Christ,) whose voice *then* shook the earth."[7]

[a] *Comp.* Isa. vi, 1, with John xii, 41. [b] Heb. xii, 24, 25.

[7] It is evident that in this passage, the two phrases, τὸν λαλοῦντα, (him that speaketh,) and τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, (him that *speaketh* or *was* from heaven,) describe the *same person*. Now that by the phrase τὸν λαλοῦντα is designated the "Son of God," is evinced, 1st, by the force of the immediately preceding sentence, which relates to "Jesus the mediator of the new covenant," and to his blood, "which speaketh (λαλοῦντι) better things than that of Abel:" 2ndly, by the consideration that Jesus Christ is the person through whom the Christian revelation is made, and who *speaketh* in that revelation. This doctrine is plainly stated by the writer of this epistle, in another passage, which from the evident similarity of its contents, affords the best of commentaries on the passage now under discussion: see Heb. ii, 2, 3. "For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began *to be spoken* (λαλεῖσθαι) by THE LORD, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him." From these premises it follows that the phrase τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν *also* designates the Son of God, and that it was *his* voice which "*then shook the earth.*"

If we examine the passage in another point of view, we shall

In further elucidation of this point of our argument, it ought to be remarked, that as the Messiah, in his preexistence, was thus known to his people as the *Deus apparens*, so, after his ascension, he occasionally appeared to his servants in the same character. A careful examination of the subject will, I believe, convince

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again be brought to the same conclusion. A comparison is here instituted between him who spake on earth and him who (speaketh or came) from heaven. Now, by τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χρηματίζοντα, "him who spake or *delivered oracles* on the earth," the writer probably intended to describe Moses, who delivered the oracles of God to the people. Such is the opinion of many excellent commentators (vid. *Cappellus, Rosenmüller, Gill,* &c.)—and such appears to be the most natural interpretation of the words in question. If this be allowed, it must, at the same time, be granted, that the words τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν are intended to describe, not God the Father—but, the Lord Jesus Christ. For there can be no proper comparison between Moses as the speaker in the law, and God the Father as the speaker in the Gospel. God was the author of both the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. He revealed his will by Moses, and he revealed his will by Christ. On the other hand, the comparison is strictly proper and perfectly intelligible as it is instituted between Moses, the earthly messenger and minister of the Lord, who declared the law, and Jesus Christ the eternal Son of God, who came down from his Father to proclaim the truths of Christianity, and who, by his Holy Spirit, still *speaks from heaven: comp.* chap. iii, 5, 6. So Theophylact on the words τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν observes, Τουτέστι τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν χρηματίζοντα· τουτέστι τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι, τὸν νόμον ἡμῖν δόντα διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος—"That is Christ, who delivereth oracles from heaven—that is, who subsequently to his ascension giveth us his law by the Spirit:" see also *Schleusner*, voc. ἀποστρέφω.

Theophylact, like our English translators, and in accordance with the Vulgate and Syriac versions, after the words τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν understands the participle χρηματίζοντα. The clause thus completed contains a description obviously applicable to Jesus Christ, who, like Moses, may be represented as χρηματίζων—"delivering the oracles of God." It appears, however, still more natural to render τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν—"Him that (was or came) from heaven." So the Ethiopic translator. So Erasmus, Pagninus, Beza, Piscator, Vatablus, and others. It is indisputable that when thus interpreted the words τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν are applicable *only* to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is often mentioned in similar terms, (John iii, 13, 31; vi, 33; *comp.* 1 Thess. iv, 16; 2 Thess. i, 7,) and who actually came from heaven to visit and instruct mankind.

the reader, that there is a remarkable resemblance be-between the appearances of the Angel of Jehovah to Abraham, to Jacob, and to Moses, and those of the *glorified Jesus* to Stephen,[a] to Ananias,[b] and to Paul:[c] and again, between the visions of the glory of the former, seen by Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah, and the visions of the glory of the latter, seen by the apostle John.[d]

II. It may be observed, in *the second place*, that the offices which, in the Old Testament, the Angel of the Covenant is described as fulfilling in connexion with the ancient people of God, are in the New Testament attributed to Jesus Christ. The Angel was their spiritual governor; the divine master of Abraham, of Jacob, of Moses, of Joshua, and of the Judges. He made a covenant with the people; he brought them up out of Egypt: he led them through the wilderness: he dictated their prophecies.[g] In conformity with this account of the Angel of Jehovah, we learn from the apostles of our Lord, that the Israelites were Christ's *own* people,[9]—that it was *he* who inspired their prophets who spake concerning himself,[e]—that it was *he*, more especially, who accompanied and fed them in the wilderness, and whom they tempted and disobeyed to their own destruction.[f]

III. Thirdly, it ought not to be forgotten that the Angel of the Covenant was a *Redeemer*. "In his love and in his pity he *redeemed*" the people of God.[g] He

[a] Acts vii, 56. [b] ix, 10. [c] ix, 3, 5; 2 Cor. xii, 1—10. [d] Rev. i, 12—18; vi, 2; vii, 2; viii, 3—5; x, 1—6; xiv, 14; xix, 11, 12. [e] 1 Pet. i, 11. [f] 1 Cor. x, 4, 9. [g] Isa. lxiii, 9.

[8] As in the instances of Balaam, Num. xxii, 35; Isa. vi, 9, 10; and Zech. ii, 4—13.

[9] Εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον. John, i, 11.

"*redeemed*" Jacob "from all evil."[a] Nor can we fail to observe in *him* a sure characteristic of the Messiah, when he says to Joshua the high priest, "*Behold I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment.*"[b]

IV. Fourthly, the Angel of Jehovah was not only the inspirer—he was also the *subject* of prophecy, and the predictions on record respecting him, have been fulfilled in Jesus Christ. When he declared to Zechariah, and, through him, to the church at large, that he would come and dwell (*κατασκηνώσω, Sept.*) in the midst of Zion, and that it should then be known by his people, that Jehovah of hosts had *sent* him—he must surely be understood as speaking in the character of the "*Only-begotten*" who was afterwards *sent* by the Father into the world—who was made flesh, and dwelt (ἐσκήνωσεν) amongst his people, so that they "*beheld* his glory:"[c] And when, moreover, we find him predicting that many nations should be joined to him in that day, and become *his* people—we can scarcely hesitate to adopt the opinion of Kimchi that this prophecy describes the times of the Messiah,"[d] and to admit that it points out the conversion of the gentile nations to faith in Jesus Christ.

Still more precise and conclusive is the evidence afforded us by the prophecy of Malachi, respecting the messenger who was to precede the coming of the Lord, and the *Angel of the Covenant* by whom that messenger was to be followed.[e] That this latter is the very person, who appeared so often to the patriarchs, and who guided and governed the people of Israel, is asserted (as we have already noticed) by Moses Ben

[a] Gen. xlviii, 16. [b] Zech. iii, 4.—*comp.* Rev. iii, 18.
[c] John i, 14. [d] Vid. *Gill*, in loc. [e] Mal. iii, 1.

Nachman; nor can we reasonably entertain a doubt on this subject, after we have observed how plainly are here set forth the peculiar characteristics of that Individual. The prophet describes him as a purifier from evil—as the person in whom the Israelites already delighted—and as uniting in himself with the office of God's messenger, the name and attributes of God himself.

On the other hand, that this prophecy relates to the Messiah, is allowed by Kimchi, Ben-Melech, and Abarbinel.[a] But on this point, our appeal is to a far more exalted authority. Our Lord has declared that the first messenger mentioned in this passage, is John the Baptist, *his own precursor*,[b] and hence it appears that the Angel of the Covenant, who is described as following this messenger, can be no other than *Christ himself*. It is HE who suddenly came to his temple.[c] It is he who sits "as a refiner and purifier of silver" to "purify the sons of Levi"—he, who in every age of the church, baptizes his servants "with the Holy Ghost and with fire."[d]

V. *Lastly*, our whole argument is confirmed by the consideration, that the peculiar titles by which the ancient Jews were accustomed to describe the Angel of Jehovah—titles indicative of his divinity and gracious offices—are, by the writers of the New Testament, employed to designate Jesus Christ.

The first of these titles is the Word, or the "Word of Jehovah" or the "Word of God." The Targumists, as we have already found occasion to observe, frequently make mention of the *Word of Jehovah*, as the ever present helper of his people—one who performs

[a] See *Gill*, in loc. [b] Matt. xi, 10. [c] Luke ii, 27; John ii, 14; Matt. xxi, 12. [d] *Comp.* Mal. iii, 3; Matt. iii, 11, 12.

all the works of deity—one who possesses the name and attributes of the Most High, and nevertheless acts in behalf and under the commission of Jehovah. This description precisely agrees with the account given in Scripture of the Angel of the Covenant, and, accordingly, to *him* (as has been stated in a former dissertation) they have repeatedly applied the title in question —*Word of Jehovah.*[a]

It has already been observed, that the works of Philo, the Jewish Platonist, abound in allusions to a divine Person, whom he usually describes as the *Eldest Word of God,* and to whom, as to one commissioned of the Father, he attributes the creation and government of the universe. Now, that his doctrine on this subject cannot be fairly explained away as a system of imaginative personification, is sufficiently evinced by the fact, that he is accustomed to call *angels, words;* and his theory respecting the *Eldest Word,* in whom Jehovah is made manifest, appears to be borrowed from the history contained in the Old Testament, of the Angel of Jehovah, who *was* Jehovah. He has made particular mention of the appearances of that mysterious person to Abraham, to Hagar, to Jacob, and to Moses: and, as on the one hand, he frequently denominates the *Word of God, Angel* or *Archangel,* so on the other, he explains some of the principal passages of the Pentateuch, respecting the Angel of the Covenant, as relating to this most ancient and holy *Word.* Thus, when discussing the words of the Angel to Jacob—"I am the God of Bethel, &c."[b] he remarks, that, for the benefit of those

[a] See *Onk.* on Gen. xxxi, 13; Num. xxii, 35; xxiii, 3, 4, 16. *Jerus. Targ.* on Gen. xvi, xviii, xix; Exod. iii; *Jonath.* on Isa. lxiii, 7—10; Mal. iii, 1. See No. 8, p. 139. [b] Gen. xxxi, 13.

who cannot see the true God, he is pleased to appear in the form of an *angel;* and that as men behold the rays of the sun, and the phases of the moon, as if they looked on the sun and moon themselves, so the *Image, Word,* or *Angel* of God, is perceived or understood, as if he were God himself. He then applies a similar explanation to the words addressed to the same divine Messenger, by Hagar, "Thou God seest me:"[a] and concludes by describing the infinite power of the Almighty, who has settled the nature of all things, and has caused the universe to rest on his mighty representative, THE WORD.[1]

Thus again, when engaged in considering Exod. xiv, 19—the passage where the Angel of Jehovah is described as intervening in the pillar of cloud and of fire between the Egyptians and the Israelites—he writes as follows: "To the ARCHANGEL AND ELDEST WORD, the Father of the universe has granted this preeminent gift, to stand as a Mediator, and to determine between the creature and the Creator. He is at once the suppliant, on behalf of perishing mortals, to the unchangeable Being, and the ambassador of the Sovereign to his subjects. He exults in this gift, and, glorying in it, he proclaims, 'I have stood between the Lord and you; being neither unbegotten as God, nor begotten as you, but in the midst of the extremes, pledging myself to both: to the Creator, that the whole race (of man) shall not fall into ruin and apostasy; and to the creature, to maintain the glad hope, that the merciful God will not overlook his own work. For I publish to the creation the message of peace from God, who can purge

[a] Gen. xvi, 13.

[1] τὸ πᾶν ὑπερείσας ἵνα στηριχθῇ βεβαίως τῷ κραταιῷ καὶ ὑπάρχῳ μου, λόγῳ. *De Somm.* Ed. Mang. vol. i, p. 656.

away enmities, and who is the perpetual preserver of peace.' "[a]

The author of the Zohar is no less explicit on this subject than Philo. In various passages of his work, he has expressly identified the Angel of the Covenant with the *Shechina*, that governor of the world, and king of Israel, whom, according to Scoettgen, he also denominates the *Word of Jehovah*.[b] "The angel who redeemed me," says this cabalistic author on Gen. xlviii, 15, "is the Shechina who walks with man and never recedes from him."[c]

In a passage just cited from his works, Philo calls this Eldest Word or Angel of God, the *Mediator*, (μεσιτής); and the cabalistic writers apply to him the name *Metatron*, which is supposed to be derived from the Latin Mediator, and has the same meaning.[d]

In a former essay we have found occasion to remark that the *Image of God* (εἰκὼν Θεοῦ) is a title very usually applied by Philo to the mediating Word or Angel of the Most High, and that on one occasion he calls him the *express image*, χαρακτὴρ[e]—a term which describes Jesus Christ in Heb. xii, 3. A very similar phraseology is adopted in the Zohar, where we find the Messiah (who is there represented as the same as the Shechina or angel) described as a king constituted "*in the Image*" of God (בִּדְיוּקְנֵיהּ):[f] and again, as the "*Splendour* of God's glory" (מַהֲדַר גַּאֲוָנוֹ)[g]—words which precisely correspond with the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δοξῆς, of the apostle in Heb. xii, 3.[h]

[a] *Quis Rerum Div. Hær.* Ed. Mang. i, 501. See *Smith's Messiah*, vol. i, p. 434. [b] *De Messiâ*, p. 911; *Sommerus*, p. 44. [c] Fol. 123, col. 490; *Scoettg. de Mess.* p. 145. [d] See *Scoettg.* 911; *Jarchi in Gill* on Exod. xxiii, 20. [e] *De Mundo*, tom. ii, 606. [f] Levit. fol. 34, col. 133. [g] In Exod. fol. 3, col. 11. [h] *Scoettg.* p. 370.

But of all the titles which Philo is accustomed to apply to that personal Word of whom he so often speaks, the most conspicuous is *the Son* or *First-begotten* of God. And that in adopting this appellation also, he had the Angel of the Covenant especially in his view, is evident from his quoting Exod. xxiii, 20—(the passage in which God promises to send the Angel to lead and protect his people) in proof that the Almighty has placed his righteous Word, even his FIRST-BEGOTTEN SON, (πρωτόγονον υἱὸν) as a King or Shepherd over the "sacred flock" of created things.[a]

The author of the Zohar also applies the title *Son of God* to the Shechina or Angel of Jehovah. For example, in his commentary on Genesis, he says, "This *Son* is the faithful Shepherd. Of thee it is said, Kiss the Son,[b] and again, Thou art my Son.[c] He is the Prince of the Israelites; Lord over things below; Lord of ministering Angels; the *Son of the Highest;* the *Son of the good and great God*, and the gracious Shechina."[d]

On the whole, then, we may safely conclude that, at the Christian era, there were many persons amongst the Jews, who recognized in the scriptural records of the *Angel of the Covenant*, the character of a Person truly divine, whom they regarded as the organ of creation, the redeemer and governor of the world, and more especially as the protector and defender of their own nation; and whom they called the Mediator, the Word, the Image, and the Son, of God. And farther, that they expected him to appear on earth as their *anointed Deliverer and King*, may be concluded partly from the express doctrine of the Zohar, which ever

[a] *De Agric.* Ed. Mang. tom. i, p. 308. [b] Psa. ii, 12. [c] Ver 7.
[d] Fol. 88, col. 348; *Scoettg. de Mess.* p. 6.

represents the Shechina and the Messiah as identical; partly from the evident bearing of certain parts of the Targum of Jonathan,[a] and partly from numerous passages of the New Testament itself, which plainly show that the SON OF GOD, *whose name it was blasphemy to assume,* was, in the estimation of the Jews, the *same* as the *Christ.*[2]

Now the apostles of our Lord were Jews; and to Jews they addressed many of their writings. Those writings afford abundant evidence that they united with their countrymen in acknowledging the existence of a *divine person* whom, like them, they denominated the MEDIATOR, the WORD, the IMAGE, and the SON, of God. Like them also they understood that this divine person was Israel's appointed Messiah. But they went farther, and applied all these titles to *Jesus of Nazareth.* They asserted that HE was the incarnate Word. They said to him,[b] "We believe and are sure that THOU art that Christ—the SON OF THE LIVING GOD."[3]

[a] Vid. No. 8, p. 143. [b] John vi, 69.

2 From the obvious tendency and import of many passages in the works of Philo respecting the *Eldest Word* of God, it may be gathered that he intended to ascribe to *him* the office of the Messiah, who was then so universally expected among the Jews to arise as their Sovereign and Deliverer, and as the Mediator between them and their God. Unless this be admitted, we must conclude that Philo has taken no notice at all of the Messiah, whom he no where mentions by name; and this would surely be a very unaccountable circumstance.

3 It is a very satisfactory circumstance, that the views unfolded in the present essay respecting the *manifested God of ancient Israel,* are precisely those which were uniformly maintained by the Antinicene fathers of the Christian church. The following passage from the first apology of Justin Martyr, may serve as a specimen of the manner in which he was accustomed to write on the subject. "The Jews, who think that it was always God the Father who spake to Moses, (whereas he who spake to him was the Son of God who is also called an Angel and an Apostle,) are justly convicted both by the prophetical spirit and by Christ himself, of knowing neither the

To recapitulate the heads of the present disquisition, —we learn from various passages of the New Testament, that God is a spiritual Being, who pervades the universe, and whom no man hath ever seen or can see.

With this doctrine has been compared the history

Father nor the Son. For they who say that the Son is the Father, are convicted of neither knowing the Father, nor of understanding that the God of the universe has a Son, who being the First-born Word of God, is also God. And formerly he appeared to Moses and to the other prophets in the form of fire and an incorporeal image; and now in the time of your empire, becoming man by a virgin, according to the Father's will, he endured to be despised and to suffer for the salvation of those who believe in him:" c. 63. Dr. Burton, whose translation of Justin I have here adopted, gives the following ample list of similar examples, in the works of this and other early fathers.

" It was Christ who talked with Adam, Gen. iii, 8, 9, where the person is said to be *the Lord God,* v. Theophil. in Autol. II, 22. Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 16, p. 509. Irenæus, IV, 10, p. 239.

It was Christ who spoke to Noah, Gen. vi, 13. Irenæus, IV, 10.

It was Christ who went down to confound the tongues at Babel, Gen. xi, 5, where it is said that it was *the Lord.* Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 127, p. 220. Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 16, p. 509. Novatian. c. 25, p. 723.

It was Christ who "*appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God*:" Gen. xvii, 1. Justin. M. Dial. cum. Tryph. c. 127, p. 220. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I, 7, p. 131.

It was Christ who appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre, Gen. xviii, 1, where he is called *the Lord,* and *the Judge of all the earth,* ver. 25. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 56, p. 152. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I, 7, p. 131. Tertull. adv. Marc. III, 9, p. 402. Origen. in Gen. Hom. IV, 3.

It was Christ who rained fire upon Sodom, Gen. xix, 24. The Fathers particularly mention the expression, " then *the Lord* rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire *from the Lord.*" Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 56, p. 152: c. 127, p. 221. Irenæus, III, 6, p. 180. Tertull. adv. Prax. 13, 16, p. 507, 509.

It was Christ who tempted Abraham, Gen. xxii. Origen. in Gen. Hom. VIII, 8. Cyp. Test. II, 5, p. 286.

It was Christ who appeared to Jacob, Gen. xxviii, 13, where the person calls himself "*the Lord God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac.*" Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58, p. 156. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I, 7, p. 131.

It was Christ who spoke to Jacob in a dream, Gen. xxxi, 11, 13, where he calls himself *the God of Bethel.* (See Gen. xxviii, 13,

contained in the Old Testament of the frequent visible appearances of Jehovah, to the ancient patriarchs and prophets, in the character of an angel or messenger, and in the form of man: and proofs in abundance have been advanced from Scripture, that this mysterious Person—this manifested Deity—this Angel of God's covenant—was the leader, protector, lawgiver, and ever present helper, of ancient Israel.

The characteristic peculiarities described as appertaining to the Angel of Jehovah, afford an ample evidence that these passages of Scripture (as appears to have been familiarly understood by the Jews themselves) relate to an individual.

Who then was that individual? That he *was not* GOD THE FATHER, is evinced by his having been visible to mortal eye, and by his having borne the character of one commissioned or sent.

That he *was* the SON OF GOD, we may conclude—

19.) Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58, p. 155. Cyp. Test. II, 5. Novatian. c. 27, p. 725.

It was Christ who wrestled with Jacob, Gen. xxxii, 24, where it is expressly said that he was God, ver. 28, 30. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58, p. 155, 156, c. 125, p. 218. Irenæus, p. 239. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I, 7, p. 132. Concil. Antioch. (Reliq. Sacr. II, p. 470.

It was Christ who appeared to Jacob, Gen. xxxv, 1, 9. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58, p. 155, where he says, "he is called God, and is God, and will be." (Θεὸς καλεῖται, καὶ Θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἔσται.) Cyp. Test. II, 6.

It was Christ who appeared to Moses in the bush, Exod. iii, 2, where the person calls himself "*the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob:*" and at ver. 14, "*I am that I am.*" Justin. M. Apol. I, 62, p. 80. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 60, p. 157. Irenæus, IV, 10, 12. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 7. Tertull. c. Jud. c. 9, p. 194.

It was Christ who appeared to Joshua near Jericho, Josh. v. 13. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 62, p. 159-60: see *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene fathers to the Divinity of Christ, by E. Burton.* Oxford, A.D. 1826, pp. 33—35.

first, from the analogy of Scripture; for the SON is often represented as one commissioned or sent, and as the visible Image of the invisible God, and yet as possessing the name and character of JEHOVAH. Accordingly He who appeared to Moses on the mount, and to Isaiah in the temple, is in the New Testament spoken of as the *Son of God—the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Secondly, because the preexistent Messiah is described by the apostles as exercising that superintendence over ancient Israel, which, in the Old Testament, is ascribed to the Angel of the Covenant.

Thirdly, because the character of the Angel, as a *Redeemer*, agrees with that of Christ.

Fourthly, because the prophecies respecting the appearance on earth of the Angel of the Covenant, were fulfilled in Jesus Christ.

And *lastly*, because the titles which Philo and other ancient Jewish writers have applied to the Angel, as descriptive of his divinity and peculiar offices, (including his Messiahship,) particularly the terms *Word*, *Image*, and *Son*, of God, are, by the authors of the New Testament, employed as the titles of Jesus of Nazareth—the true Messiah.

Thus then it appears that the declarations of the apostles respecting the preexistence and eternal divinity of Jesus Christ are confirmed and elucidated by the historical as well as by the prophetical records of ancient Israel. The doctrine of the New Testament, that THE WORD was before John, before Abraham, in the beginning, with the Father before the world was created—that he was in the form of God and equal with God—that by him all things were made, and all men enlightened—that he was the leader of Israel, and the inspirer of her prophets—the Saviour of his peo-

ple, and the appointed Redeemer of all mankind—was no insulated opinion, novel to those among whom it was promulgated. Rather did it form a constituent and essential part of a *system* of truth, which was already partially understood, and which was, in a considerable degree, familiar even to the ancient patriarchs and prophets. The Son who is ONE in the divine nature with the Father—possessing both his name and his attributes—was, during the ages which preceded his incarnation, *no stranger* to the people of God. Often did he arise for their help, their instruction, and their deliverance. He was the object of their faith, their worship, their allegiance, and their love.

We may also learn from the history of the Angel of Jehovah, (in connexion with that of Jesus Christ,) how admirably that great feature of the Gospel dispensation—*the manifestation* of *God in his Son*—falls in with the harmony of Providence and of Truth. The invisible, eternal, Father, was made manifest in his Son, when the rising universe proclaimed the omnipotence of his Word. He was made manifest in his Son, when that Word conversed with Abraham, with Jacob, and with Moses; when he led the Israelites through the wilderness, and subdued their enemies—when he appeared in his glory to Isaiah, and to Ezekiel, and when he inspired the prophecies of Amos and Zechariah. The Father was made manifest in his Son, when the same Word became incarnate and dwelt amongst men, and wrought the works of deity, and died on the cross to save us; and again, when he poured forth his spirit on his apostles, displayed himself for the consolation of Stephen, arrested the fury of Paul, and illuminated the visions of John. And lastly, the Father will again be made manifest in his Son, when the

Mediator of the New Covenant shall appear a second time for the judgment of the world, and for the final and eternal salvation of those who love him.

No. 15.

On the Deity of the Word.

John i, 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." E. Γ.

"In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum." Vulg.

"In the beginning was the Word, and that Word was with God, and that Word was God." Syr.

When we consider the importance of the subjects to which this short passage relates, we ought to be thankful that it is unshaken in point of reading, authoritative in point of style, and clear in point of meaning. This assertion I shall now endeavour to elucidate and confirm.

I. The *reading* of John i, 1, is not a subject, among critics, of the least degree of doubt. The genuineness and correctness of the present text is established on a foundation which precludes all dispute. On a reference to the Greek Testaments of Mill, Matthiæ, Wetstein, and Griesbach, it will be found, that amidst the vast multitude of MSS. which these critics and their predecessors have collated, there are none which present the least variety of reading in this passage, except Griesbach's MS. L. (the Regius of Stephens) in which the article is inserted before the second Θεὸς. The ancient versions, of every class, and without ex-

ception, support the present reading of John i, 1; and the almost innumerable quotations of these words made by the early fathers, both Greek and Latin, afford an equally uniform evidence in its favor.[1]

II. It is worthy of observation, in the second place, that this passage, with its context, bears, in no common degree, the marks of *apostolic authority and decision.* The doctrines which it contains are not incidentally introduced, nor are they merely glanced or hinted at. They are deliberately and emphatically affirmed, and are placed by the apostle in the very front of all that information and instruction which God had commissioned him to communicate to the church. Although inspiration must be considered to vary as to its degree and mode of operation, according to the circumstances under which it is bestowed, and the subjects to which it is applied, yet there are, in my opinion, irresistible reasons for our believing that ALL Scripture is of *divine authority.*[a] Nevertheless, since some persons, who profess a belief in Christianity, entertain on this subject more *limited* views, it is a satisfactory cir-

[a] Vid. *Essays on Christianity*, v.

[1] The only exceptions noticed by Griesbach, are, that Clement Alex. for πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, once reads ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, and that Gregory of Nysse inserts the article before the second Θεὸς. These variations have obviously arisen from mere want of care.

It is somewhat surprising, that Wetstein and Griesbach, in their *variæ lectiones*, should have condescended to notice the idle and unauthorized conjecture of Samuel Crellius, who, for the second Θεὸς, in this passage, proposes Θεοῦ; as if the apostle meant to say, not that the Word was God; but that the Word *belonged* to God. Such conjectural alterations of the sacred text are, in a high degree, rash and absurd. A Moravian writer informs us, that Crellius, who wrote under the name of Artemonius, and was a noted Socinian, lived to repent of thus tampering with Scripture, and became, before his death, a sincere believer in the divinity and atonement of Christ. He expressed a fervent desire, that all his books could die with him. See *Hist. of the United Brethren*, translated by Latrobe, p. 201: *Smith's Messiah*, vol. ii, p. 512.

cumstance, that even on the narrowest principles respecting the inspiration of the sacred writers entertained among Christians, no man can dispute the divine origin of the passage now before us. Every believer in the mission of Jesus Christ, will, I presume, allow, that a declaration made by one of the most favored and eminent of the twelve apostles, on a subject purely doctrinal, and in a decisive and emphatic style, can be ascribed to nothing of less authority than the dictation of the SPIRIT OF GOD.

Since then the textual correctness of this passage is indisputable, and since its divine origin is established on principles common to *all* believers in Christianity, we may rest in the full assurance that the doctrines revealed in it are TRUE.

What then are those doctrines?

That the word was in the beginning—that the Word was with God—and that the Word was God.

III. The meaning of these words, whether read in the original Greek, or in our own literal version, is so perspicuous, that persons of unprejudiced minds can scarcely mistake it. The passage is evidently declaratory of the preexistence and deity of our Lord Jesus Christ.

On the subject of the preexistence of Christ, as it is here declared, the reader is referred to No. 5. That ἀρχὴ, in this passage, does not signify, as the editors of U. N. V. insinuate, *the beginning of the gospel dispensation or of the ministry of Christ*, is evident, partly from the extreme jejuneness of the proposition that Jesus Christ existed at the commencement of his own ministry, and partly from verse 14, which informs us that the Word who was in the beginning, σὰρξ ἐγένετο—*became* flesh. That, on the contrary, ἀρχὴ here denotes

"the *beginning of all things*," is amply evinced by the immediate context, which reveals the doctrine that by the Word who "was in the beginning" "*all things were made;*" and also from the comparison of the Sept. version of the opening of the book of Genesis, (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς, κ.τ.λ.) with which passage, the apostle, in the commencement of his gospel, has maintained a close analogy.

Equally unsuccessful is the gloss of the Socinian interpreters respecting the title *Word*, which they consider to be applied to Jesus Christ, merely because he was a person by whom the word of God was revealed; i. e. an inspired teacher of religious truth. Although we often read that the word of God *came* to the prophets, and that they declared it to others, none of them are ever identified in Scripture with *the word itself;* and if, for the reasons already adduced, it be allowed that Christ existed as the Word, *in the beginning of all things*, it will follow, that this title belongs to the character which he possessed, long before he assumed the nature of man, and with it the office of a prophet. In the interpretation of the term Λόγος, we may safely follow the light so abundantly reflected on it from the known theology of the Jews themselves. Since several of their writers, who lived at the Christian era, or within a few centuries afterwards, so frequently mention the Word as a divine and personal agent, (in some respects distinguished from Jehovah, yet united with him,) through whom the Father constructed the universe, and manifested himself to mankind—since some of them identify this Mediator between God and man, with the Messiah—and since, on the other hand, the apostle thus designates the true Messiah in immediate connexion with the doctrine,

that he was the medium both of creation and of spiritual illumination—it may be readily concluded that this title as applied by John to his divine Master, denotes, not merely a divine commission, but an *eternal and omnipotent agency.*

In the preceding notes various quotations have been made from Jewish authors, which justify these remarks, and it will therefore now be needless to add much more on the subject. The reader is, however, requested to call to his recollection, that the works of the Chaldáic paraphrasts abound in notices of the Word or Shechinah of Jehovah, whom they represent as a divine Person distinct from the Father, and yet partaking in his nature; as the organ of creation; as the leader, governor, and God,[2] of the Israelites—that Philo has, to a still wider extent and with still greater particularity, unfolded similar doctrines; especially that of the creation of the world, through the Word or First-begotten Son of God—that the author of the Zohar delineates the same Mediator under the character of the Shechinah, the God of the Jews, and the Redeemer of the world[3]—that all these

[2] Sufficient evidence will be found in No. 8, that the *Word of Jehovah* was deemed, by the Targumists, to have been himself, the God of Israel. In further proof of this point, it may be well to adduce the following passages: viz. Onk. on Gen. xxviii, 20, 21. "If the Word of the Lord (said Jacob) will be my helper, and will keep me, &c. then the Word of the Lord shall be *my God*—" לִי לֵאלָהָא. Jonath. on Levit. xxvi, 12. "I will cause the glory of my Shechínah to dwell among you; and my Word shall be *your God*, the Redeemer, &c." *Targ. of Jerus.* on Deut. xxvi, 17, 18. "You have made the Word of the Lord king over you this day, that he should be your God: The Word of the Lord hath made himself king over you, in his own name, that ye may be his beloved and peculiar people."

[3] The doctrines advanced by the Targumists, Philo, and the Cabalists, respecting the personality and divinity of the Word or

writers identify the divine Person, thus described, with the Angel of the Covenant whose appearances *under the character of Jehovah* are recorded in the Old Testament—finally that, from a few passages in the Targum of Jonathan and from a multitude of declarations in the Zohar, we learn the opinion of some of these Jews, that this Word, Shechinah, or Angel of God, was ISRAEL'S MESSIAH.

It ought to be observed, that the evidence afforded on this subject, by the theology of the Jews, is confirmed by that of a class of writers wholly distinct from them—the early fathers of the Christian church. These writers, from Justin Martyr downwards, were very familiar with the use of the title *Word*, which they uniformly applied to the Son of God, *in reference to his divine and unchangeable nature.* Nor does it

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Angel of Jehovah, are not without some appearance of support in the apocryphal books of the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiastes. The author of the former book, when speaking of the destruction of the first-born of Egypt, writes as follows, "Thine almighty Word (ὁ παντοδύναμος σοῦ Λόγος) leapt down from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war, into the midst of a land of destruction, and brought thy unfeigned commandment, as a sharp sword, and standing up, filled all things with death, and he touched the heaven, but marched upon the earth—βεβήκει δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς:" xviii, 15, 16. That this is something more than poetical personification, is rendered probable by the comparison of Exod. xii, 23, from which passage it appears, that, in the destruction of the first-born, God employed some personal agent;—"Jehovah will pass through to smite the Egyptians, and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, &c. Jehovah will pass over the door, and will not suffer THE DESTROYER to come in unto your houses to smite you." The Targum of Jonathan, for *Destroyer* in this passage, has "*destroying angel*:" comp. Heb. xi, 28. "Lest *he that destroyed the first-born*, should touch them.

In Ecclus. xliii, 26, we read that by the Word of God all things consist—σύγκεινται πάντα—which precisely accords with the doctrine of Paul respecting our Saviour: *vid.* Col. i, 17. καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε: Heb, i, 3, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.

appear that their doctrine on the subject was derived *exclusively* from the declaration of the apostle John, to which I cannot find that Justin, in particular, makes any distinct reference. Much less was it, as some persons have imagined, the offspring of heathenish speculation in the shape of Platonic philosophy. It was, like the doctrine of Philo and the Targumists, and (we may safely add) that of the *apostle himself*, founded on the *Old Testament*. By the title Word, these writers were accustomed to describe that Deus præsens et loquens et agens—that angel of Jehovah who was Jehovah—that personal and all-powerful emanation from the Deity—by whom the Father created the world, inspired the prophets, and protected and governed the Israelitish church. And, on the authority of the New Testament, they did not hesitate to express their conviction, that in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, this only begotten of the Father, this *Deus apparens* of the ancient people of God, had become incarnate, and had offered up his life on the cross, for the salvation of all mankind. [4]

[4] The following passages, selected from the works of some of the Ante-Nicene fathers, will afford a clear exemplification of their sentiments respecting Christ THE WORD.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 140. *Apol.* 1. cap. 63. "The God of the universe has a Son, who, being the first-born Word of God, is also God. And formerly he appeared to Moses and to the other prophets in the form of fire and an incorporeal image, &c." *Dial. cum Tryph.* cap. 61. "I will give you another proof from the Scriptures, that in the beginning, before all creatures, God begat a *certain reasonable Power of himself*, which is also called by the Holy Ghost the *glory of the Lord*, (Shechinah,) and sometimes *Son*, sometimes *Wisdom*, sometimes *an Angel*, sometimes *God*, sometimes *Lord and Word*. After using these expressions, Justin supports his doctrine by Prov. viii, 22—36, (the memorable passage respecting Wisdom the companion of God in the work of creation); and by Gen. i, 26; iii, 22: where Jehovah uses the term "us" or "one of us," and Joshua v, 13—15; which describes the visible appearance of the *Captain of the host of the Lord.*

On the whole, then, it appears, that it was a doctrine of religion, received, in ancient times, *among both Jews and Christians,* that the Word of Jehovah existed with the Father before all worlds, and was the *Mediator* through whom he acted in the creation and

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Theophilus of Antioch, A. D. 169. *ad Autolyc.* ii, 22; thus explains God's walking in the garden and conversing with Adam: Gen. iii, 1—10. "The God and Father of all cannot be contained in space, neither is there any place where he rests himself. But his *Word* by whom he made all things, and who is his Wisdom and Power, assumed the character of the Father and Lord of all. *He* came into paradise in the character of God and conversed with Adam." Afterwards he refers, in proof, to John i, 1.

Melito of Sardes, A. D. 175. *Routh, Rel. Sac.* i, p. 112. "We are not worshippers of senseless stones, but of the only God who was before all things; and also of his Christ who was verily God, *the Word,* before the worlds."

Irenæus, A.D. 185. *Contra Hær.* lib. iii, cap. 11. § 8. "The Word of God conversed with the patriarchs before Moses in his divine and glorious character: to those under the law, he fulfilled the office of a priest; and after this, becoming man, he sent the gift of the Holy Ghost into all the earth, covering us with his own wings."

Clement of Alexandria, Pœdag. lib. i, cap. 7. "It was the Word who wrestled with Jacob.... Still farther, Jacob called the name of the place *Peniel, the face of God*.... The face of God is the Word by whom God is made manifest and known. Then, also, he was called Israel, when he saw God the Lord. This is God, the Word, the Instructor—ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς." *Strom.* l. vii. cap. 2. "The Son is the power of God, being the supreme Word of the Father, and his Wisdom, before all existing things."

Tertullian, A. D. 200. *Apol.* cap. 21. "We believe the Word to have been produced from God, and to be begotten by production, and therefore called the Son of God; and God, from the unity of substance."

Hyppolitus, A. D. 220, *de Antichristo,* cap. 4. "*The Word of God,* who was not fleshly, put on the blessed flesh from the blessed virgin, like a bridegroom wearing a garment for himself, in the suffering of the cross; that by blending our mortal body with his own power, and uniting the corruptible to the incorruptible, he might save lost man."

Origen, A. D. 240, *Sel. in Gen.* xxxii. 24. "Who else could it be that is called at once man and God, who wrestled and contended with Jacob, than he who spake at sundry times and in divers manners unto the fathers, (Heb. i, 1,) the holy Word of God who is called Lord and God, who also blessed Jacob and called him Israel.... It was thus that the men of those days beheld the

government of the world. And I conceive it to be upon this doctrine, in connection with that of the incarnation of the Word in the person of Jesus Christ, that the apostle John has for ever fixed the seal of divine inspiration.

Having thus endeavoured to ascertain the office

Word of God, as our Lord's apostles did.....which Word and Life Jacob also saw, and added *I have seen God face to face.*"

For these extracts I am obliged to *Dr. Burton.* See *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene fathers to the Divinity of Christ,* pp. 31, 33, 41, 56, 75, 136, 155, 164, 222, 281.

Numerous additional quotations to the same purpose might be made from the works of the fathers now cited, as well as from those of their successors from generation to generation. With regard to the apostolic fathers—that is, the Christian writers who immediately succeeded the apostles—it does not appear that the small remnant of their *genuine* works contain any passage in which Christ is described under the title Word, or in which any reference is made to John i, 1. At the same time, it is sufficiently evident that they held the same *doctrine* on the present subject, as the writers now cited; for they speak of Christ as of a personal and impassible Agent who was in existence before the creation, and some of them identify him with the Jehovah of the Old Testament. For example, the author of the ancient epistle usually ascribed to Barnabas (A. D. 72,) writes as follows; "The Lord endured to suffer for our souls, though he is the Lord of the world, to whom God, before the constitution of the world, said, *Let us make man:*" ch. 5. Again—"Lo, saith THE LORD, I will take away from them their stony hearts, and will give them hearts of flesh, because he was about to be manifested in the flesh and to dwell among us:" *comp.* Ezek. xxxiv, 26. *Clement of Rome* (A. D. 96,) quotes the words of Jehovah in Ps. xxxiv, 11, as the words of Christ: 1 Ep. ad Cor. cap. 22. *Hermas* (A. D. 100,) says, "The Son of God is more ancient than any created thing, so that he was present in counsel with the Father at the creation:" *Past.* lib. iii, *Sim.* 9, § 12. Lastly, Ignatius (A. D. 107,) declares that Jesus Christ, whom he frequently describes by the name of God, "*was with the Father before the world,* and appeared in the end:" *ad Magnes.* cap. 6. Again, in allusion to the same subject, he employs the following powerful and pertinent expressions, Τὸν ὑπερκαιρὸν προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατὸν, τον ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητὸν. "Wait for him who is beyond all time, without tense, invisible; who for our sakes became visible; him who is intangible, impassible, yet for our sakes suffered:" *ad Polyc.* cap. 3.

and character of the Word who was in "the beginning," we may advance to the next point in the apostle's proposition, that he was *with God*—*πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*. On this subject, the editors of U. N. V. have made the following remark. "He withdrew from the world to commune *with God* and to receive divine instructions and qualifications previously to his public ministry. As Moses was with God in the mount,[a] so was Christ in the wilderness, or elsewhere, to be instructed and disciplined for his high and important office."

Πρὸς, with an accusative, frequently denotes, as in this passage, communion—fellowship—a close and familiar intercourse. Our Saviour was *πρὸς* (with) the Jews during the continuance of his ministry on earth.[b] Paul was *πρὸς* (with) Peter when he returned from Damascus to Jerusalem,[c] and *πρὸς* (with) the Corinthians, when engaged amongst them as a preacher of the gospel.[d] The same apostle hoped to be, when absent from the body, present *πρὸς* (with) the Lord.[e]

Were it true that these expressions here relate to Jesus Christ *during his abode on earth*, we should still have strong reasons for interpreting them as descriptive of something very superior to that communion with God, to which the editors have alluded. On the subject of his own relation to the Father and connection with him, let us hear the words of Christ himself. "No man knoweth the Son but the Father: neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, &c."[f]..... "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do; for *what*

[a] Exod. xxxiv, 28. [b] Mark ix, 19. [c] Gal. i, 18. [d] 1 Cor. ii, 3. [e] 2 Cor. v, 8. [f] Matt. xi, 27.

things soever he doeth, *these also doeth the Son likewise;* for the Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things that himself doeth....for as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, *even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.*"[a] Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am *in the Father*, and the Father *in me?*"[b] "My sheep hear my voice....and I give unto them eternal life....neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand: I and my Father are ONE."[c] Here, surely, there is described not the pious intercourse with God of a merely human prophet, but a union of equality and reciprocity—a union in counsel, in works, *in power*, and therefore *in nature.*

But the explanation here proposed by the editors is precluded by the consideration, that the preceding words of the apostle relate to the *preexistent* Messiah—Christ *not incarnate*—the Word, in his original, unaltered, condition. From the very nature of the case, it appears to follow, that the union here declared of the Word with God, or (to reverse the order of the statement) the union of the Father with Him who was his Wisdom and Power in the creation and government of all things—could by no possibility be any thing less intimate and perfect, than a *union of essence.*

That this was in point of fact the apostle's meaning I consider to be evinced by the succeeding step of the climax—"AND THE WORD WAS GOD."

The subject before the apostle when he wrote this

[a] John v, 19—21. [b] xiv, 9, 10. [c] x, 27—30.

memorable sentence, appears to have been the original condition and nature of Jesus, the true Messiah, and his train of thought may perhaps be intelligibly unfolded as follows. "Jesus was the Word; i. e. the Wisdom and Power of God. This Word was in the beginning, *before any thing was created.* He was united with God the Father;[a]—and such was the nature of their union, that he was himself properly God. Each article in this proposition evidently falls in with the true order of the subject; and the whole presents a statement of Christian doctrine which corresponds with the general tenor of Scripture testimony respecting the nature of God and of Christ. There is but one God; and the deity of Christ, the eternal, essential, Word, rests on the indissoluble basis of the declared truth, that he and his Father ARE ONE.

In opposition to this view of the subject, the editors of U. N. V. have resorted to a very singular version of the last clause of John i, 1—"And the Word was *a god!*" Are we then to suppose—in direct contradiction to the profession which these critics, in common with the whole Christian world, are making—that there is *more than one God?* Is it to be imagined that the doctrine of the apostle respecting Jesus Christ, is identical with that, which the Grecians, amongst whom this Gospel was intended to circulate, were accustomed to entertain respecting their numerous false and subordinate deities? Let the editors reply for themselves. "*Jesus received a commission as a prophet of the Most High, and was invested with extraordinary miraculous powers. But in the Jewish phraseology they were called gods to whom the word of God came.*[b] *So Moses is declared to be a god to Pharaoh.*"[c] It appears,

[a] *comp. ver.* 18. [b] John x, 35. [c] Exod. vii, 1. *Not.* in loc.

then, that according to the opinion of the editors, Jesus Christ was called by the divine name, not because he was "a god," in the common acceptation of the term, but because, though a man only, he *was endued with the power of working miracles, and with the spirit of prophecy.*

In considering this novel version of Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, I shall endeavour to show, in the first place, that it is not required by the construction of the passage; secondly, that the allegation by which, in their note, the editors attempt to support it, is fallacious; thirdly, that this interpretation is precluded by the context.

I. With regard to construction, it may probably by some persons be imagined, that the absence of the article before Θεὸς entails upon us the necessity of adopting a version similar to that proposed by the editors—on the principle that ὁ Θεὸς signifies *the supreme God*, but Θεὸς, without the article, *one of a class of gods.* But this notion, although it has obtained some support from Origen,[5] is destitute of any solid founda-

[5] Origen, in his Commentary on this passage, (Ed. Ben. tom. iv, p. 50,) remarks, in the first place, that, from the order in which it is arranged, the apostle intended to show that the *godhead* of the Word is a doctrine consequent to that of his being πρὸς τὸν Θεόν—with God the Father. This remark may be acceded to on the principle already mentioned; for the apostle seems to teach us that *such* was the union of the Word with the Father, that the Word was himself God. Origen then proceeds to praise the apostle for his skill in the use of the article; inserting it before Θεὸς, signifying the Father, and omitting it before Θεὸς, signifying the Word—the Father being αὐτοθεὸς, "God of himself;"—and the Word, Θεὸς, because deriving deity from the Father. He then goes on to declare, that as the Father is the source of deity in the Son, so the Son is the source of deity—that is, of god-like authority and power—in all other beings who are called gods. He further illustrates his argument by stating that λόγος without the article, is the *reasoning faculty* in man; but that ὁ λόγος, the Word, is the fountain from which alone true reason and wisdom in the creatures of God are derived.

The doctrine of Origen, in this passage, may be understood in a

tion. Θεὸς, as applied to the Supreme God, is sometimes used as a simple attributive, and sometimes as a proper name, and hence it assumes or rejects the article *indifferently*. Θεὸς, without the article, signifies *the supreme God* in many passages both of the New

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truly orthodox sense, as importing that the Son is the Only-begotten of the Father, and therefore Deus ex Deo. But his remark respecting the article is falsified, as he could scarcely fail to have known, by those numerous passages in the New Testament, (particularly in the Gospel of John,) in which Θεὸς, meaning God the Father, is without the article, as well as by some others in which the article is inserted before that name *when it denotes the Son*. See John xx, 28; 1 John v, 20.

The mistake of Origen on this subject, however, appears to have arisen from his imitating Philo, who is considered to be an inaccurate writer of Greek, especially as it relates to the use of the article. See *Middleton, Doctr. Gr. Art.* p. 55. When commenting on the words addressed to Jacob, "I am the God who appeared to thee in Bethel," (ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ Θεοῦ, *Sept.*) Philo remarks that the words ἐν τόπῳ Θεοῦ signify in the place of *the angel*, because God so transformed himself, in appearance. "For," says he, "as men who cannot behold the Sun itself, look at its reflected brightness *as the Sun*, and the changes of the Moon as the Moon itself, so likewise they consider the image of God, his angel, his Word, *as himself*.

"The sacred Scripture in this passage, designates him who is truly God by the article, saying, *I am* THE *God* (ὁ Θεὸς): but him who is so by figurative application (τὸν δ' ἐν καταχρήσει) without the article, saying, Who appeared to thee in the place—not of *the* God (τοῦ Θεοῦ), but only of God (Θεοῦ). But he calls his eldest Word, God, (Θεὸν), not being superstitious about the application of names." *De Somn.* Ed. Mang. i, 655, 656. These notions of Philo respecting the article before Θεὸς, are refuted by many passages in the Septuagint, as are those of Origen by others in the New Testament. And, farther, they appear to be completely stultified by the fact, that in the very passage which he quotes from Genesis, it is the Angel or *Word* of God, who is speaking to Jacob, and who therefore applies to *himself* the title Θεὸς *with* the article—ἐγώ εἰμι Ὁ Θεὸς. Philo frequently describes the Word as possessing *divine* attributes; for example, the power of creating visible objects, and of illuminating with reason the souls of men. When, therefore, he speaks of the name Θεὸς as applied to the Word ἐν καταχρήσει, he may be considered as marking the distinction between God and his Word, without denying that the Word participated in the *essence* and *nature* of the Deity.

Testament, and of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament. See, for example, ver. 6, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ Θεοῦ, "sent from God"—ver. 13, ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν, "were born of God"—ver. 18. Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε, "no one hath seen God;"—Gal. vi, 7, Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, "God is not mocked"—Deut. xxxii, 4, (*Sept.*) Θεὸς, ἀληθιναὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, "God—his works are true"—Ps. xviii, 1, δόξαν Θεοῦ, "the glory of God"—xlix, 1, Θεὸς Θεῶν κύριος, ἐλάλησε, "God, the Lord of Gods, hath spoken"—cxvii, 27, Θεὸς κύριος, καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν, "God is the Lord and hath shewed us light," &c. &c.

But, in addition to the peculiarity which thus attaches to the word Θεὸς, respecting the use of the article, there is a grammatical reason which *precludes* its being inserted in the present instance; namely, that Θεὸς is the *predicate of the proposition.* It represents that which is declared or *predicated* of λόγος, the subject; and therefore properly rejects the article; as in the parallel phrase quoted by Bengel, from 1 Kings xviii, 24, *(Sept.)* οὗτος Θεός—"*He is God.*" "It may be added," says Middleton, "that if we had read ὁ Θεὸς, the proposition would have assumed the convertible form, and the meaning would have been, that whatever may be affirmed or denied of God the Father, may also be affirmed or denied of the Logos; a position which would accord as little with the Trinitarian as with the Socinian hypothesis. It is therefore unreasonable to infer that the word Θεὸς is here used in a lower sense; for the writer could not have written ὁ Θεὸς without manifest absurdity. The meaning of that clause in the Athanasian creed which affirms that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, is adequately expressed by Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, Θεὸς ὁ Υἱὸς, Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, nor will the most zealous Trinitarian, if

he understands Greek, be dissatisfied with this interpretation of his belief."[a]

That λόγος is the subject of the proposition, and Θεὸς therefore the predicate, is evident from the context: "*The Word* was in the beginning; *the Word* was with God; *the Word* was God." The verse contains three successive assertions, all of which obviously relate to the Word; and that this is true of the last assertion, (namely that the Word was God,) as well as of the two preceding ones, is not only evident from the analogy of the sentence, but is ascertained by what follows[b]—"*The same* was in the beginning with God."[6]

2. In support of their opinion that Jesus was called by the apostle, *a god,* simply because he was commissioned and gifted as *a prophet,* the editors allege that in the Jewish phraseology, they were "called gods to whom the word of God came."[c] "So Moses," they add, "is declared to be a god to Pharaoh."[d] Had they asserted only, that in a very few passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, and under very peculiar circumstances, the title of deity is figuratively applied to mortals, their assertion would have agreed with the opinion of many of the learned. But if they mean to

[a] *Doctr. Gr. Art.* p. 343. [b] John i, 2. [c] John x, 35. [d] Exod. vii, 1.

6 In the face of this palpable evidence, Cappe, one of the ablest of the Unitarian critics, has ventured to translate the clause, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος—"*God was the Word.*" This translation is not more opposed to the rules of construction, than the author's paraphrase is foreign from the literal import of his own version. "Jesus, the Word, (i. e. the inspired preacher,) was so fully instructed and qualified and authorized for the errand upon which God sent him, that it was not so *properly he that spake to men, as God that spake to them by him.*" This doctrine is in itself clear enough, but is it probable that so perspicuous a writer as the apostle John, should have attempted to convey it by declaring, that '*God was the Word?*'

allege, that such a use of the divine name appertained to the *customary phraseology* of the Hebrews—in such a manner that the apostle's declaration respecting the divinity of Christ, could with any probability have been so understood by his Jewish readers,—then it may with great safety be averred, that their allegation is unfounded. Between the passages in which the divine name is figuratively applied in Scripture, and those in which Jesus Christ is declared to be *God*, there is, in fact, no sort of resemblance—no ground whatsoever of fair comparison.

As the subject is too important to be lightly passed over, it may be well in the first place, to examine, with some degree of care, the two passages to which the editors here refer.[a]

When our Lord was conversing with the Jews, he does not appear to have been in the habit of discussing the subject of his own nature, or to have assumed the *name* of God: but he frequently spoke of himself in such terms as could not fail to convey to the understanding of his hearers *the doctrine of his proper divinity;* and *this* was the ground on which the Jews repeatedly attempted to stone him, as a blasphemer. Such was the case when he cried out, "Before Abraham was, I am." Such was the case also, when he promised to *give* to his followers *eternal life*, asserted a power of protecting them equal to that of the Father, and concluded by saying, "I and my Father *are one.*"[b] When, on that occasion, Jesus put the question to the Jews, for which of his works they stoned him, they answered—"for a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man,

[a] John x, 35; and Exod. vii, 1. [b] John x, 30.

makest thyself God. Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, (i. e. the Old Testament) I said, ye are gods? If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God? *If I do not the works of my Father*, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; *that ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him.* Therefore they sought again to take him: but he escaped out of their hand."[a]

In order to form a correct view of this passage, we ought, in the first place, to remark, that our Lord is not here explaining the meaning of the name of God, as applied to himself; for although, when he spoke of his divine power, and his union with the Father, the Jews accused him of *making himself God*, the only *title* which he here claimed as his own, was that of the *Son* of God; secondly, that while he employed an argument from Scripture to silence the cavils of the Jews, he continued to assert the *doctrines* to which their accusation had respect, namely, his ability to perform the works of God, and his union with the Father. Not a word did he utter to weaken the impression (produced by his former discourse,) of his having indirectly asserted his actual divinity. On the contrary, he confirmed that impression, so that they attempted, a second time, to take him and punish him.

To what purpose then was his argument from Scripture? It was, I conceive, to prove, *the greater from the less*—a mode of reasoning extremely common among the Jews, who called it קַל וָחוֹמֶר the 'little

[a] John x, 33—39.

and great', or 'the easy and difficult.' The Talmud abounds with arguments of the kind,[a] and our Saviour himself was much accustomed to the use of them.[7] "If David called them gods to whom the word of God came—persons whose deity was altogether nominal and fictitious—and if this was not blasphemy—*much more* am I, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, guiltless of that crime, when I assert my actual character and call myself that which I truly and properly am—*the Son of God.*"

Accordingly if we turn to Psalm lxxxii, (here cited by our Lord) we shall presently discover that the persons who are there described as "gods," were destitute of all well-grounded pretension to such a title. They appear to have been certain wicked princes or magistrates, who abused the trust and authority committed to them; and were therefore exposed to the just judgments of the Almighty, whose word went forth *against* them.[8] "God standeth in the congregation of the

[a] See *Buxtorf. Lex. Rab. et Chald.* voc. חֻמָּר.

7 "Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" Matt. vi, 26—30.

"Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows:" Matt. x, 29—31.

"If ye then being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" Luke xi, 13.

8 The Editors of U. N. V. have quoted our Saviour's words, "he called them gods *unto* whom the word of God came;" as if they in-

mighty—*he judgeth among the gods.* How long will ye judge unjustly and accept the persons of the wicked? ..... they know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course." After thus warmly rebuking them, and exhorting them to forsake their evil courses, the Psalmist adopts a high strain of irony and contempt. "I have said *ye are gods*, and all of you are children of the most High—but ye shall *die like men*, and fall like one of the princes!" So proud were these mighty ones of their exalted station—so presumptuously did they depend upon their own power, that the prophet in the warmth of his irony declares them to be *gods*—and then, in a moment, undeceives them, by threatening them with the common lot of transitory men. Gussetius observes that the word אֱלֹהִים *gods*, can no more be considered as truly signifying a particular class of men, because men under such circumstances, were addressed as אֱלֹהִים, than *grass* can be said to mean *flesh*, because "*all flesh*" is declared to be "*grass*."[a] That there is no sort of analogy, however, between such an application of the title *gods*, and the deliberate assertion of the apostle respecting the deity of the Word, must be evident even to a cursory observer.

Nor is such a remark less applicable to Exod. vii, 1. "*See I have made thee a god* אֱלֹהִים *to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.*" Since God is the fountain of justice, and of that power by which virtue is rewarded and vice punished, it is not surpris-

[a] *Comm. ling. Heb.* p. 49.

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dicated that the word of God came to these persons, not to rebuke and overturn them, but to inspire them and qualify them for their office. This is a mere delusion.

ing that the name of God should peculiarly convey the idea of *judicial authority*. On this ground it is supposed by many learned men to be, in a few passages of Scripture, applied to *judges*, who are instruments in the hand of the Almighty for the execution of his just decrees. Moses was invested with a judicial authority over Pharaoh, and was enabled, through divine assistance, to inflict upon him and his people, the punishment of their disobedience: and this is generally supposed to be the meaning of the declaration, that he was *made* (or constituted) a god to Pharaoh. If this is a true interpretation, it is evident that there lies no just comparison between this declaration respecting Moses, and the apostolic doctrine that the Word *was* Θεός. If Moses was a god—if he was invested with a divine judicial authority—it was by appointment—to serve a particular occasion—for a short period of time—and over a single individual. On the contrary, the deity of the Word is simply and emphatically affirmed, and is restricted by no limitations.

It is, however, very doubtful whether Moses is here called *a god*. The Hebrew word is the plural substantive אֱלֹהִים (Elohim) which is properly the name of the *true God;* and the passage may rather be rendered, "See, I have made thee (as) GOD to Pharaoh." Moses was made as God to Pharaoh, when a miraculous power was given to him over all that Pharaoh possessed and governed. A similar description of the viceregal authority of Israel's lawgiver, is to be found in Exod. iv, 16—"And he (Aaron) shall be thy spokesman unto the people, and he shall be, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, (לְפֶה) and thou shalt be to him instead of GOD (לֵאלֹהִים)."

Before we bring this discussion to a close, it may be

desirable briefly to notice the remaining passages of Scripture in which the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים is supposed to signify a judge, or judges. They all relate to the forensic proceedings of the ancient Israelites; and are as follows: "If the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children: I will not go out free: then his master shall bring him unto *the judges* (הָאֱלֹהִים the Elohim)."[a] "If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall be brought unto *the judges* (הָאֱלֹהִים the Elohim) to see whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods. For all manner of trespass whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, or for any manner of lost thing which another challenges to be his, the cause of both parties shall come before the judges, and whom the judges (אֱלֹהִים without the article) shall condemn, he shall pay double unto his neighbour."[b] "If one man sin against another, (said Eli unto his sons) the judge shall judge him (פִּלְלוֹ אֱלֹהִים), but if a man sin against the LORD, who shall entreat for him (יִתְפַּלֶּל־לוֹ)?"[c]

In rendering אֱלֹהִים, judge, or judges, in the two former of these passages, our translators have the support of the Targum of Onkelos, and of the Syriac and Arabic versions; and in 1 Sam. ii, 25, that of the Targum of Jonathan. On the other hand, in the Septuagint version of all three passages, and in the Vulgate, Syriac, and Arabic versions of 1 Sam. ii, 25, that term is rendered as denoting the Supreme God.[9]

[a] Exod. xxi, 5, 6. [b] xxii, 8, 9. [c] 1 Sam. ii, 25.

9 In Exod. xxii, 9, we read that he "whom the Judges (or God) condemned" (אֲשֶׁר יַרְשִׁיעֻן אֱלֹהִים) should pay double to his neighbour.

The verb יַרְשִׁיעֻן is defective; and a *vau* must be supplied either before or after the final ן. The Masorites have pointed the word as

In point of fact, there does not appear to be any sound reason whatever, for our ascribing to אֱלֹהִים in these passages any other than its common and current signification. Whether used with or without the article, it is properly the name of Jehovah; and with respect to the judges of Israel, they are almost universally described by a very different, title, הַשֹּׁפְטִים. The ancient Israelites were under a theocracy, and Jehovah was ever understood by them to preside over their courts, and to direct the decisions of their judges. Moses, when giving to Jethro an account of his judicial office, says, "The people come unto *me*, to enquire of God (אֱלֹהִים): when they have a matter they come unto me and I judge between the one and the other," and Jethro, in his answer, says, "Be thou for the people to God-ward, (or towards the Elohim, הָאֱלֹהִים) that thou mayest bring the causes unto God (הָאֱלֹהִים)."[a] Thus, also, in Deut. xix, 16, 17, we read, "If a false witness rise up against any man to testify against him that which is wrong; then both the men between whom the controversy is, shall stand before JEHOVAH, before the priests and the judges (הַשֹּׁפְטִים) which shall be in those days."[b]

[a] Exod. xviii, 14—19. [b] *Comp.* Deut. xvii, 8—13; 2 Chron. xix, 6.

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if the *vau* was to be inserted before the ן, in which case we should have a plural verb with ן paragogic. If this pointing is correct, אֱלֹהִים may still signify *God*, for there are several passages in Scripture, where, with this meaning, it is in concord with plural adjuncts. There is little doubt, however, that the true reading of the word is that which is given in the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch—an ancient and most valuable authority. We there for יִרְשְׁעֻן find יִרְשִׁיעֶנּוּ —i. e. the third person singular of the verb, with the personal pronoun affixed. The Hebrew grammarian is aware that the personal pronoun *after* the verb is very often thus used to complete the force of the relative pronoun before it. Now, אֱלֹהִים governing a verb in the singular, properly signifies *the only true God.*

When, therefore, the Israelites carried their causes or complaints before their judges, they were considered to carry them *before God himself*. To stand before the judges and to stand before JEHOVAH became equivalent phrases. So it was with the slave who preferred his servitude,[a] with the disputing parties,[b] and with the transgressor against his brother.[c] They were all brought into the public court of justice, and therefore into the presence of JEHOVAH. It was JEHOVAH before whom the slave sware: it was JEHOVAH who decided the cause of the disputants, and fixed the punishment of the transgressor. The word אֱלֹהִים therefore in these passages may be considered as signifying not the Judge or Judges, but GOD HIMSELF.

On the same principle we can have no difficulty in explaining Ex. xxii, 28. אֱלֹהִים לֹא תְקַלֵּל וְנָשִׂיא בְּעַמְּךָ לֹא תָאֹר. After the example of the ancient versions, our translators have rendered this passage, "Thou shalt not *revile the gods*, (scil. the Judges) nor curse the ruler of thy people." But in Lev. xxiv, 15, the very same phrase is allowed to denote blasphemy against the supreme God. "Whosoever *curseth his God* (וְקִלֵּל אֱלֹהָיו) shall bear his sin."[d] We may therefore, with the utmost propriety, render Ex. xxii, 28, as follows: "Thou shalt not *blaspheme God*, nor curse the ruler of thy people"—words which are aptly paraphrased by Adam Clarke, "Thou shalt not blaspheme or make light of God, the fountain of justice and power, nor curse the ruler of thy people who derives his authority from God."[1]

[a] Exod. xxi, 6. [b] xxii, 9. [c] 1 Sam. ii, 25. [d] So *Targ. Onk. Targ. Jon. Sep. Vulg. Ar. Syr.*

[1] When the ghost of Samuel appeared to the witch of Endor, she cried out, in her great terror, אֱלֹהִים רָאִיתִי עֲלִים מִן־הָאָרֶץ,

Now, if the received English version of these passages is correct, it is still to be remembered that the sacred name, as thus used, has respect to judicial authority, and not as the Editors insinuate, *to the office and character of a prophet.* But on the whole, it must surely be considered extremely doubtful, whether (with the exception of what may be called *the poetic license* of Ps. lxxxii) there is even a single in-

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"I saw *gods* ascending out of the earth:" 1 Sam. xxviii, 13. It may be presumed that the woman was both an impostor and an idolatress. Awed by an apparition which she probably little expected, she appears to have imagined that she beheld, rising out of the earth, one or more of those demons with whom she professed to maintain an intercourse, and who were the objects of her worship.

If this interpretation is correct, the plural אֱלֹהִים may be considered, in this passage, to preserve its plural sense, viz. *objects of worship.* The same may be said of θεοί, in 1 Cor. viii, 5. "Though there be that are called *gods*, whether in heaven or in earth; (as there be gods many and lords many); but unto us there is but one God, &c." "The gods many," whom the apostle here mentions in contrast with the true God, must surely be the gods of the Gentiles; i. e. those beings, whether imaginary or real, whether in heaven or in earth, who received divine honours from an idolatrous world.

In numerous passages of Scripture, and especially of the Psalms, the true God is, in a somewhat similar manner, contrasted with the *false gods* of the heathen, and these latter are often mentioned *as if* their existence was recognized. In some of these passages אֱלֹהִים is, in the Septuagint, rendered ἀγγέλοι, *angels:* see Ps. xcvii, 5—7; cxxxviii, 1, in which instances ἀγγέλοι may be understood to mean beings of an exalted order, who were the objects of idolatrous worship. In Psalm viii, 5, in our own authorised version, as well as by the LXX, אֱלֹהִים is rendered "angels;"—"For thou hast made him a little lower than *the angels.*" Here also, "*angels*" may signify beings who were actually worshipped. Some commentators, however, are of opinion, that אֱלֹהִים, in this passage, signifies the true God. Man, in his state of original perfection, and *in point of authority over the inferior animals,* might be said to be made a little lower than God; i. e. to be in possession of authority and power almost like that of God: so *Rosenmüller, Schol.* in loc. On the other hand, the version given by the LXX is, in this instance, (as also in that of Ps. xcvii, 5—7,) adopted and doctrinally applied in the epistle to the Hebrews: i, 6; ii, 6.

stance in the Hebrew Scriptures of the application to mere mortal men—however exalted their station, or eminent their authority—of the title god or gods.[2]

That such an application does not belong to the *customary phraseology* of the Hebrews, is most certain. While the instances which are adduced in support of this notion, are both very few, and most of them,

2 The Hebrew substantive אֵל is a name of God almost as commonly used as אֱלֹהִים, and is applied to the Messiah, in Isa. vii, 14; ix, 6. The majority of lexicographers have explained אֵל as connected with אַיִל, strength, supposing it to signify Deus *fortis*. Michaelis, however, has displayed great learning in combating this notion. He has endeavoured to prove that there is no real connexion between these nouns, and that אֵל, God, is derived from a root still existing in the Arabic language, and signifying "to do good." If Michaelis is correct in his view of the case, the Hebrew אֵל precisely corresponds with the English word, 'God:' vid. *Sup. ad lex. Heb.* in voc.

But whatsoever be the origin of the name אֵל, it may, with safety, be asserted of that name, that it signifies *deity*, and *deity* only—that whether it is applied to the true God, or to the idols who were actually objects of worship, *it is capable of no inferior or secondary import*. Among the whole multitude of passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, in which it is found, there appears to be only *one*, which suggests any doubts on the subject, and that one admits of an easy explanation. The passage alluded to is Ezek. xxxi, 11, in which Nebuchadnezzar is denominated אֵל גּוֹיִם. If the received reading of this passage is correct, we must translate these words, "the god of the nations"—expressions easily accounted for, because Nebuchadnezzar, a monarch of absolute and extensive authority over the nations, probably received from some of them an idolatrous worship. That the eastern heathen nations sometimes worshipped their great potentates, as deities, is sufficiently notorious. Diodorus Siculus has mentioned this custom as prevalent amongst the Egyptians, (lib. i, cap. 90,) and the case of Darius, to whom it was decreed that all prayers and petitions should be exclusively addressed, is familiar to every reader of the Bible: Dan. vi, 6, 7. It ought to be observed, however, that for אֵל, in this passage, many authorities read אַיִל, "strength," or "the strong one." So Eng. Trans., "the mighty one of the nations." This reading is found in upwards of thirty MSS. and appears to be supported by all the ancient versions. It

probably, fallacious,—*thousands* of passages occur in the Old and New Testaments, in which the sacred name is applied, as by an exclusive right, to the Supreme God. So great indeed is the importance attached, in the Scriptures, to the *name* of God, that it is frequently employed to represent his dignity, authority, and power. The *name of God* was "magnified," "blessed," "called upon," "rejoiced in," "feared," "loved," and "praised."[a] It is declared to be a glorious name, worthy of being "sanctified" and "hallowed:"[b] and the sin of "blaspheming," "profaning," and "despising" it, is condemned in terms of strong reprobation.[c]

[a] 1 Chron. xvii, 24; Neh. i, 11; ix, 5; Ps. v, 11; xliv, 8; liv, 1; lxxx, 18; lxxxix, 12. [b] Deut. xxviii, 58; Isa. xxix, 23; Matt. vi, 9. [c] Lev. xviii, 21; Mal. i, 6.

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is adopted by Taylor in his Concordance, and by J. D. Michaelis.

The phrase יֶשׁ לְאֵל יָדִי, rendered in E.T., "it is in the power of my hand," ought rather to be translated, (as Michaelis and Simon have justly observed,) "Est pro deo manus mea;" id est, "meis ipsius viribus valeo, possum:" vid. Gen. xxxi, 29: and Mic. ii, 1; *comp.* Hab. i, 11.

Care must be taken to distinguish אֱלֹהִים, gods, the plural of אֵל, from אֵילִים or אֵילֵי, mighty ones, the plural of אַיִל. אֱלֹהִים, gods, appears to occur only in Exod. xv, 11; Ps. xxix, 1; lxxxix, 6; and Dan. xi, 36. אֵילִים or אֵילֵי, "strong ones," occurs in Exod. xv, 15; 2 Kings xxiv, 15; Job xli, 17 or 25; Ezek. xvii, 13; xxxii, 21. In the last of these passages the ו in אֵילֵי is, in the received text, omitted, but it is read in a great many MSS. and by other authorities.

The expression בְּנֵי אֵלִים in Ps. xxix, 1, is rendered in our English version the "*mighty*," and in Ps. lxxxix, 6, the "*sons* of the mighty." It is probable that the former is the correct version. בְּנֵי אֵלִים, literally, the "sons of gods," appears to signify "mighty ones"—principes—persons who were comparable to the ἡμίθεοι of the Heathen: so *Simon. Comp.* Gen. vi,—2—4.

The reverence for the name of God, thus forcibly inculcated in Scripture, has always been habitual among the Jews. It is a point on which great strictness appears to have prevailed among the Talmudists and other Rabbinical writers, and so far were their scruples on the subject carried, as to degenerate into idle superstition. They would sometimes, in their writings, conceal the name of God, by introducing into it certain letters which did not belong to it. Thus, instead of the word אֱלֹהִים (Elohim) they not unfrequently wrote אֱלֹהֵכִים (Elokim) or אֱלֹהֵדִים (Elodim); and the motive which they assigned for this curious change of orthography, was a fear lest, in case any accident should happen to their book, the name of God might be exposed to injury or pollution.[a]

The allegation, therefore, by which the Editors would support their interpretation of Θεὸς in John i, 1, is substantially, and *conspicuously* erroneous. Nothing could be more inconsistent with the tenor of scriptural theology, nothing less natural to the Jewish writer, nothing more shocking to the Jewish reader, than the serious and deliberate application of the sacred name to any one who was not truly and properly GOD.

3. As the interpretation given in the U. N. V., of the last clause of John i, 1, is neither required by the construction of the passage, nor supported by any well founded collateral evidence, so it is inadmissible, because at variance with the context. Had the positions been established, that the Word was nothing more than an *inspired preacher*, that "the beginning" in which he existed was only *the beginning of his own ministry*, and that his union with God was merely such as may be enjoyed by every pious worshipper—they might

[a] See *Buxt. Lex.* in voc.

with some show of reason have restricted the godhead of the Word to his prophetical office and character. But, if it has been proved that these premises are nugatory—if abundant evidence has been adduced to show that the apostle is speaking of Christ not incarnate but preexistent—of Christ in the character of a powerful and spiritual agent who was in the bosom of the Father, before all worlds—then must it be allowed that the *godhead* here ascribed to him has respect, not to the gifts and graces bestowed upon his humanity, but to the essential and immutable properties of his original nature.

Are we then to understand the apostle to assert that the Word was, in the proper sense of the term, God—the true God, the JEHOVAH of the Old Testament? The question is of high importance; and may, I believe, be decisively though reverently answered in the affirmative.

From many of the observations already offered in this essay, the reader can scarcely fail to be aware of the general grounds on which this answer rests. Nevertheless, it may be well to state the argument with somewhat more of precision.

That Θεὸς in the last clause of John i, 1, signifies *the true God*, may be concluded, *in the first place*, because this is the general and only proper meaning of the word as it is employed by the sacred writers. It is true that this title is sometimes used in Scripture *impropriè*, to describe the idols of the heathen, who were objects of worship, and therefore gods in the estimation of their worshippers; but, according to the multiplied yet *unanimous* voice of the sacred writers, whether historians, prophets, or apostles, of no Being could it be gravely and deliberately declared, that he

actually is אֱלֹהִים or Θεὸς, but of JEHOVAH himself. This argument applies, with preeminent force and precision, to the writings of the apostle John, who has elsewhere used the word Θεὸς (sometimes with the article and sometimes without it,) nearly three hundred times, and *always* in its acknowledged and proper sense. On other occasions, indeed, as well as the present, he applies it to Jesus Christ—but who shall say that he does so with any *subordinate* meaning, when he introduces the apostle Thomas addressing Jesus as his Lord and his God, Ὁ Κύριος καὶ Ὁ Θεὸς, and when he himself asserts that our Saviour is Ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, the *true God*?[a]

That Θεὸς is here employed in its highest sense, is to be concluded, *in the second place*, from those known doctrines respecting the Word, entertained by the early Jews, which the apostle has so clearly adopted as his own. It was a principle perfectly understood among the Targumists especially, that the Word was not only *with* Jehovah, but *Jehovah*—not only the messenger of God, but *God himself*. With them, in a multitude of instances, the "Word of Jah," is the translation of the Hebrew יְהוָה, and, while in many passages they draw an evident distinction between this Word, and God from whom he came, they still uphold the deity of the former, and frequently declare that he was himself the *God of Israel*. In the history of the Angel of the Covenant this subject is fully unfolded. The Targumists, the Cabalists, and the early Christian fathers, all appear to have acknowledged the divinity of this mighty Mediator between God and his people. In their estimation the Word was GOD *in intercourse with man*. According to them, it was *the Word* who

[a] John xx, 28: 1 John v, 20.

passed sentence on Adam, conversed with Abraham, destroyed the guilty inhabitants of Sodom, wrestled with Jacob, pronounced the law, spake face to face with Moses, guided and protected the armies of Israel, directed the prophecies of Balaam, and appeared in vision to Isaiah. Now in all these and very many other particulars, the Word assumed the character and bore the name of JEHOVAH. The apostle John has himself indirectly declared that Jehovah whom Isaiah beheld in the temple, was Jesus Christ.[a] Who then can mistake his meaning when he positively and directly affirms that the Word WAS GOD?

That Θεὸς is here employed in its highest sense is to be concluded, *in the last place*, from the doctrine with which this assertion of the divinity of the Word stands in immediate connexion—"*By him all things were made and without him was not any thing made that was made.*"[b] In a former essay, ample evidence has, I trust, been produced to prove, that, by this declaration, nothing less is signified than the creation of the universe through the intervention and operation of the Word of God. If then *all things* were created by him—*if not any thing* was created without him—it follows, that he was before all creatures, himself uncreated, and therefore, *God.*

But again, by this uncreated one, *the universe was made.* Whether the Word is here described as the origin or as the medium of this stupendous work, we learn from the passage before us that the creation of all things out of nothing, *was his act.* Now this, beyond all dispute, is the act of omnipotence.[c] When, therefore, in immediate connexion with the declara-

[a] John xii, 41; *comp.* Isa. vi, 1. [b] John i, 3. [c] See Rom. i, 20; Isa. xliv, 24; xlv, 18; *comp.* Gen. i, 1; No. 9, p. 163.

tion, that through the Word the universe received its being, the apostle declares that his Word was Θεὸς— it seems impossible, with any fairness, to deny, that by the term Θεὸς he intended to represent that supreme and incomprehensible Being, "from" whom and "through" whom and "unto" whom are "all things."

In recurring to the principal heads of this essay, we are to recollect,

That the correctness of the commonly received reading of John i, 1, is established on the unanimous authority of manuscripts, versions, and fathers.

That the style of the passage is deliberate and emphatic; and that even on the lowest grounds respecting the divine origin of Scripture adopted among professing Christians, its having been "given by inspiration" is indubitable.

That the doctrines contained in it, therefore, are unquestionably true.

That those doctrines are stated with clearness; and that the *obvious* meaning of the passage is amply confirmed by critical investigation.

That since "the beginning" here mentioned is shown to be "the beginning of all things," *the Word* must be understood as the title, not of "an inspired preacher," but, according to the known theology of both Jews and Christians, of a *spiritual and all-powerful Agent.*

That in conformity with this view of the subject, the declaration that he was πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, can import nothing less than a oneness with the Deity.

That the truth next declared by the apostle, is probably stated as a consequence from this doctrine. Such was the union of the Word with God, that the Word *was God.*

That the version adopted in U. N. V.—"*the Word was a god,*" is neither required by the absence of the article, nor supported by any well-founded collateral evidence, nor admissible as it respects the context.

More especially, that the imagined applicability of the title Θεὸς (according to the phraseology of the Jews,) *to a human prophet endowed with miraculous powers*, is a mere fallacy.

Lastly, that the correctness of the commonly received interpretation, which assigns to Θεὸς, in this passage, its usual sense of *the true God*, is evinced, *first*, by the general application of the term in Scripture, and the unvarying use of it in the writings of this apostle,—*secondly*, by the known doctrine of the Jews, that the Word of Jehovah, was himself Jehovah—and, *thirdly*, by the declaration which follows, that by this Word the universe was created.

It appears, then, to be a clear and established point, that the apostle, in this passage, has proclaimed to the church in all generations, *the existence before all things, the union with God the Father, and the proper divinity of the* WORD—that WORD who was afterwards "made flesh"—OUR LORD AND REDEEMER, JESUS CHRIST.

No. 16.

On the Prophecies of Isaiah, in ch. vii, viii, *&* ix, 1—6.

There is probably no part of Scripture which is, in some respects, more obscure, and in others more luminous, than this section of the prophecies of Isaiah—a section which, according to the judgment of Vitringa, and after him of Bishop Lowth, is distinct from the preceding and following divisions of the book.[1] It contains a series of predictions closely connected with each other; and probably delivered at the same, or nearly the same, time—during the second year of the reign of Ahaz, son of Jotham, King of Judah.

That dissolute and idolatrous monarch came to the crown in the year B. C. 742; and on his early disobedience was inflicted a speedy punishment. In the *first* year of his reign, as is supposed by commentators, "the Lord his God delivered him into the hand of the

[1] The *preceding* prophecy was delivered seventeen years before—viz. "in the year when king Uzziah died," B. C. 758. The passage which *follows* this section, and which extends from ch. ix, 7, to ch. x, 4, inclusive, relates, not to Judah and Israel combined, as is the case with chapters vii, and viii, but to Israel *singly*, and is described by Lowth as forming "a distinct prophecy and a just poem, remarkable for the regularity of its disposition and the elegance of its plan." This prophecy, however, as well as that which follows it in ch. x, respecting the destruction of the Assyrians, is, in some degree, analogous to the section before us. The same observation applies with still greater force to chapter xi, which contains another splendid prediction of the incarnation and peaceable reign of the MESSIAH.

king of Syria, and they smote him and carried away a great multitude of them captives, and brought them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter. For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men; because they had forsaken the Lord God of their fathers."[a]

It would appear from this narrative, that Rezin, who was then king of Syria, and Pekah, the king of the ten tribes, plundered and afflicted Judæa, *separately* and in *succession*. But, in the following year, (as it is supposed,) these princes combined their forces and "went up toward Jerusalem to war against it," with a view of "rending off"[b] a part of the kingdom for themselves, and of setting up the son of Tabeal (some Syrian probably,) to be king over the remainder, instead of Ahaz.[2] Ahaz, deprived of the bulk of his forces by the war of the preceding year, and terrified by this new and formidable invasion, "took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the king's house," and sent it as a bribe to Tiglath-pileser, the king of Assyria, in order to secure the assistance of that mighty potentate.[c] Such precisely was the conjuncture of affairs when those predictions were delivered, which occupy the 7th and 8th chapters and the first six verses of the 9th chapter of Isaiah.

[a] 2 Chron. xxviii, 5, 6. [b] Isa. vii, 1—6. [c] 2 Kings xvi, 8.

2 We read in 1 Kings xv, 18, of Benhadad king of Syria, son of Tabrimon טַבְרִמֹּן. It is supposed by Lightfoot, Vitringa, &c., "that the son of Tabeal" טָבְאַל was a Syrian of the same family; for Rimmon was an idol of the Syrians, and טָבְאַל "the good god," may be considered as equivalent to טָבְרִמֹּן "the good Rimmon."

It seems that there were two principal pools of water in Jerusalem, each formed from the brook Gihon, or Siloam—one in the lower, the other, called the king's pool, in the upper part of the town.[a] In connexion with the latter, was an aqueduct, constructed by king Solomon—a place of public and general resort.[b] Here the scene, described by the prophet, takes place. He is commanded to bring with him his son Shearjashub, and to meet Ahaz "at the end of the aqueduct of the upper pool, at the causeway of the fuller's field." It is probable that Ahaz was there engaged in some endeavour to stop up the fountain, or to divert its stream, in order to deprive the invading army of a supply of water; for the same expedient was afterwards adopted by Hezekiah, when Jerusalem was besieged by Sennacherib; and, in an after age, the army of Titus appears to have been exposed, under the walls of Jerusalem, to a similar difficulty.[c]

Jehovah, however, through his prophet, commands the alarmed monarch to "take heed and be *quiet*," and not be terrified "because of the two tails of these smoking firebrands," that is, according to Vitringa, "because of *the last, and as it were, expiring efforts* of his two enraged enemies." He declares that the counsel of Rezin and Pekah should be frustrated, and that Israel more particularly should within sixty-five years be so effectually broken, as to be "no more a people." Again Jehovah speaks by the prophet to Ahaz, and invites him to ask a sign, either "in the depth" or "in the height above,"—some portent or miracle by which might be publicly demonstrated the

[a] See Isa. xxii, 9, 11; Neh. iii, 15; and *Vitringa* in loc.
[b] *Vitringa* in loc.; *Joseph. B. J.* lib. vi, cap. 4. Ed. Oxon. p. 1222.
[c] 2 Chron. xxxii, 1—3, and *Vitringa* in loc.

reality and stability of the divine promise. Disobedient and incredulous, Ahaz, under the mask of modesty, refuses to ask a sign; when the prophet, in the name of the LORD, addresses him and his companions as follows:

13. "Hear ye now, O house of David:
Is it a small thing for you to weary men,
That you should weary my God also?
14. Therefore JEHOVAH himself shall give you a sign;
Behold, the Virgin conceiveth, and beareth a son;
(or shall conceive and bear a son;)
And she shall call his name, Immanuel (GOD WITH US)."[a]

Ahaz had been commanded to ask for some *miracle* —some amazing display of the power of God, below or above, in earth or in heaven. He had refused to obey; and now Jehovah himself will provide a portent, no less astonishing than any which Ahaz could have imagined—"Behold, THE VIRGIN shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Immanuel (GOD WITH US)."

In order to clear the sense of this part of the prophecy, it is to be observed, in the first place, that עַלְמָה signifies *Virgo intacta.* It is obviously derived from עָלַם *condidit*, and properly denotes "a young woman, who liveth obscure or *concealed* at home, under the care of parents, unmarried."[b] In Gen. xxiv, 43, the word is applied to Rebecca, with evident reference to her unmarried state.[c] In Exod. ii, 8, it describes the unmarried sister of the infant Moses; and in Cant. vi, 8, עַלָמוֹת *virgins*, are distinguished from *wives* and *concubines.* That the word, in the passage now before us, retains its true and usual meaning, is too evident from the context, to require further confirmation. A *miracle* was to be wrought for the en-

[a] See *Lowth's Version* of Isa. vii, 13, 14. [b] See *Taylor's Concordance.* [c] *Comp.* ver. 16.

couragement of God's people.[a] That *miracle* was the *virgin's* conceiving and bearing a son.[3]

This event, however, is to be regarded as one part only of the mighty portent which God was to display for the consolation of his church. The name of the child was to be called Immanuel, *God with us.* Now, were that name *merely* a *proper one,* it would be capable of being explained as characteristic, not so much of the personal attributes of the child, as of the circumstances with which his birth was to be connected. It is conceivable, that any child, whose birth was to be a pledge of the divine presence and favor, might on that account bear the proper name of Immanuel, *God (is) with us.* Thus Ephraim called the name of his son Beriah (בְּרִיעָה *in evil)* because at that time "it went evil with his house."[b] Thus God commanded Hosea to call the name of his daughter Lo-ruhamah (לֹא רֻחָמָה *not having obtained mercy,)* because he would have no mercy on Israel.[c] And thus Isaiah's son was named Shearjashub, שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב, for an indication to his people, that "a remnant should return."

But, since no one, in the subsequent history of the Jews, is mentioned as bearing the proper name of Immanuel, the passage may rather be explained on a principle appertaining to the peculiar genius of the Hebrew language—viz. that quality or character, and *name,* are identical. On this principle it is customary with the sacred writers to *denominate,* when they mean to *describe.* Jerusalem was to *be called* "the throne of God."[d] The Jews were to *be called* the "ministers of our God," and "the holy people."[e] God himself was to *be called*

[a] *Comp.* Jer. xxxi, 22. [b] 1 Chron. vii, 23. [c] Hos. i, 6.
[d] Jer. iii, 17. [e] Isa. lxi, 6; lxii, 12.

[3] Although there are instances recorded in the Bible, of children whose names were given them by their mothers, (see Gen. xxxv, 18; 1 Chron. vii, 16, &c.) yet the declaration here made, that the *mother of Immanuel* should be the person to designate him, when taken in connexion with her being called עַלְמָה, may probably be intended to confirm the information, that the child was to have no human father. It was not without reason, that the Virgin Mary was commanded by the Angel Gabriel, to name her own son. Luke i, 31.

by his people, Ishi, "my husband," instead of Baali, "my Lord."[a] Tophet was to *be called* "the valley of slaughter."[b] The *name* of Zerubbabel was "the Branch."[c] The *name* of Jehovah was "the Holy One of Israel."[d] The *name* of Jesus is "called the Word of God." His *name* was written on his vesture and on his thigh, "King of Kings and Lord of Lords."[e] In the same manner, therefore, and on the same principle, the Virgin's child was to *be called*, GOD WITH US.

The correctness of this explanation of the title Immanuel, as applied to the Virgin's child, is not only *probable*, for the reasons now stated, but may be regarded as satisfactorily *ascertained* by the comparison of Isaiah ix, 5, 6—the passage which concludes this prophecy—for unquestionably it is the same child who is there denominated the MIGHTY GOD. Here then was the completion of the miracle about to be wrought—a miracle in which the depth below (τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς)[f] and the height above, i. e. *earth* and *heaven*, might well be said to be *conjoined*. The Virgin was to conceive, and bear a child; and he who was thus appointed to take part in the nature of man, was no less a being than JEHOVAH himself.

Now the promise of the coming of Him who was to work out for all believers an eternal salvation, contained in itself a *pledge* of God's temporal mercies towards his chosen people.[g] Such a pledge is expressed in the two following verses:

15. "Butter and honey shall he eat,
When he shall know to refuse what is evil,
and to choose what is good:
16. For before this child (הַנַּעַר) shall know,
To refuse the evil, and choose the good;
The land shall become desolate (or be forsaken).[i]
By whose two kings thou art distressed."[h]

[a] Hos. ii, 16. [b] Jer. vii, 32. [c] Zech. vi, 12. [d] Isa. xlvii, 4. [e] Rev. xix, 13, 16. [f] Eph. iv, 9. [g] Isa. vii, 16. [h] *Lowth's version* of Isaiah vii, 15—16.

[i] "The land shall become desolate (or be forsaken) by whose two kings thou art distressed." *Lowth*. "The land which thou abhor-

Vitringa, who understands these verses as relating to the Messiah, explains ver. 16, as implying, that before the number of years should elapse, during which the Messiah would, *in a future age*, grow up from infancy to years of discretion, the kings of Israel and Syria should be destroyed. This interpretation is ingenious, but it appears more probable that this part of the prophecy relates exclusively to the prophet's son *Shear-jashub*, to whom Isaiah may well be supposed to have pointed, when he cried out—"Butter and honey shall he eat..... before *this child* (הַנַּעַר) shall know, &c."[5] The latter explanation of the passage derives no inconsiderable confirmation from ch. viii, 18, where, in reference probably, first to Shearjashub, and next to Maher-shalal-hash-baz, the prophet says, "Behold, I and the *children* whom JEHOVAH hath given me, are for *signs* and for *wonders* in Israel." We may conclude that, at this period of famine and desolation, Shearjashub was but a young child; and very cheering was the promise that when old enough to distinguish between good and evil, he should feed upon *butter and honey*—articles which are here evidently mentioned as the luxurious produce of a plentiful land.[6]

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rest shall be forsaken of both her kings." E. T. There can, I think, be no doubt that Lowth's is the more accurate version of this passage—תֵּעָזֵב הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה קָץ מִפְּנֵי שְׁנֵי מְלָכֶיהָ. The verb קוץ signifies *tædio affici, to be wearied and distressed;* and the preposition מִפְּנֵי, used in connexion with this verb, points out the thing or person by which, or whom, the distress is occasioned. Examples precisely to the point will be found in Exod. i, 12; Num. xxii, 3. The two versions of the prophecy, however, may have nearly the same meaning; for when the prophet declares that the land was to be *forsaken*, (תֵּעָזֵב) he probably insinuates that it was to lose its two kings, as well as many of its people.

[5] Some commentators who understand verse 16, as relating to Shearjashub, explain verse 15, of the Messiah, of whom in his human character, it may be truly said, that he was nourished as other children are; *and in a time of peace and plenty.*

[6] Harmer, in his "Observations," has shown that butter and honey are still considered, in the East, *luxurious food;* and that the Arabs, when regaling their friends more deliciously than usual, often *mix these articles together:* ch. iv, obs. xvi. There can be no doubt that Lowth is fully justified in rendering לְדַעְתּוֹ in verse 15, by

So far the prophecy delivered on this critical occasion was *consolatory*. While to the pious worshippers of God is addressed the promise of a divine Deliverer, even Ahaz and his followers are cheered by the prospect of the speedy destruction of their invaders. Nevertheless, these unbelievers and idolaters were not to escape the just judgments of God. The Assyrians in whom they trusted were to be made instrumental in the hand of the Almighty, not only for the destruction of Syria and Israel, but for the punishment of Judah herself. This is the subject of the next part of the prophecy, which assumes the tone of menace and rebuke. The prophet declares that such days of sorrow would be brought upon Ahaz, his family, and his people, as had not been known since the separation of Israel from Judah.

18. "And it shall come to pass in that day;
Jehovah shall hist the fly,
That is in the utmost part of the rivers of Egypt;
And the bee, that is in the land of Assyria:
19. And they shall come, and they shall light all of them,
On the desolate valleys, and on the craggy rocks,
And on all the thickets, and on all the caverns.
20. In that day, Jehovah shall shave by the hired razor,
By the people beyond the river, by the king of Assyria,
The head and the hair of the feet;
And even the beard itself shall be destroyed."

"*when* he shall know." The particle כ bears a similar sense in Exod. xiv, 27. The version of E. T. "*that* he may know," appears to afford no intelligible sense. If, however, verse 15 is understood of the Messiah, כ may be better rendered "*until*." Butter and honey shall he eat *until* he shall know, &c. that is, during his infancy. So *Vitringa*. *Comp.* ver. 22.

The destruction and desolation of the land was to follow. Although a small remnant of inhabitants would for a time live luxuriously on the produce of a *dispeopled* country, nature was destined to resume her original wildness.

vii, 21. "And it shall come to pass in that day,
That if a man shall feed a young cow, and two sheep;
22. From the plenty of milk, which they shall produce, he shall eat butter:
Even butter and honey shall he eat,
Whosoever is left in the midst of the land.
24. . . . . the whole land shall become briers and thorns.
25. And all the hills which were dressed with the mattock
Where the fear of briers and thorns never came,
Shall be for the range of the ox and for the treading of sheep."[a]

The eighth chapter bears, in various respects, a close analogy to its precursor. The promise of the speedy deliverance of Judah, and menaces of her future punishment, as well as of the more complete desolation of Israel, are again mingled with intimations of the saving power of a *present Deity*. Jehovah commands the prophet to take "a great roll," or according to Lowth, "a large mirror"[7] and to write on

[a] *Lowth's Version.*

[7] גִּלָּיוֹן, "Volumen magnum, *Jes.* viii, 1, formam habet a גָּלָה, sed significationem a גָּלַל." *Simon. Lex.* Bishop Lowth considers that the signification as well as the form of this noun is derived from גָּלָה, *to show, to reveal.* It "may very well signify," he says, "a polished tablet of metal, such as anciently was used for a mirror:

it, "To hasten the spoil and to take quickly the prey:"[a] and Isaiah, in the presence of "faithful witnesses," obeys the command. The words thus inscribed on the roll or tablet, were destined to form the significant name of the prophet's younger son, whose birth was shortly to take place. We read that the prophetess "conceived and bare a son. Then said Jehovah to me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz.[8] For, before the child shall have knowledge to cry, my father and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria."[b] This prophecy synchronises, as to its term, with that in ch. vii, 16. *There*, we learn, that before the young lad Shearjashub should arrive at years of discretion, the land of Rezin and Pekah would be forsaken; and *here*, that before his new-born brother should know how παππάζειν, to cry, My father, my mother,—both Syria and Samaria would be laid waste by the king of Assyria.

The Israelites, more particularly, are reproved for rejecting the waters of Siloah—the brook which gently flowed by the walls of Jerusalem—(that is, I presume, for opposing and casting off the Lord's chosen family of Judah) and for taking delight in their connexion with the king of Syria, the idolatrous enemy of God and his people. For this crime the waters of the

[a] *Lowth's Version*, viii, 1. [b] ver. 3, 4.

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the Chaldee paraphrast renders it by לוּחַ, a tablet; and the same word, though somewhat differently pointed, the Chaldee paraphrast and the Rabbins render a *mirror*, ch. iii, 23." *Lowth's Note* in loc. חֶרֶט, according to the same critic, is "a graving tool," not simply, "a pen." See also *Simon. Lex.*

[8] מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז, literally, "*Haste to the spoil, quick to the prey.*"

great river Euphrates (i. e. the king of Assyria with his armies) were appointed to rise above all their channels, spread through the country, and overflow and destroy the land of Israel. Nor was the faithless Judah to escape without chastisement. "And he shall pass through Judah overflowing and spreading; even to the neck shall he reach; and the extension of his wings shall be over the full breadth of thy land, O Immanuel, (God with us)."[a]

The remaining part of the prophecy is pregnant with sublime and important meaning. The very name of Immanuel whom the prophet thus invokes as the Lord and owner of Judah, appears, amidst all these denunciations, to remind him of the safety of the people of God, and of the destruction which awaited their enemies. His view is probably here directed primarily against the Assyrians; but, in a spiritual sense, against the persecutors of the church of God in all ages. These he apostrophizes in a strain of bitter irony and rebuke.

viii. 9. "Know ye this, O ye peoples, and be struck with consternation,
And give ear to it all ye distant lands;
Gird yourselves and be dismayed; gird yourselves and be dismayed.
10. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought;
Speak the word, and it shall not stand:
For (IMMANUEL) God is with us."

In the succeeding paragraph, JEHOVAH—God present with his people—is described as a *sanctuary* to those who obey him, and as a *stone of stumbling* and *rock of offence* to the rebellious Jews and Israelites.

[a] *Lowth's Version*, viii, 8,

viii, 11. "For thus said JEHOVAH unto me;
As taking me by the hand he instructed me,
That I should not walk in the way of this people, saying:
12. Say ye not, It is holy,
Of every thing, of which this people shall say, It is holy;
And fear ye not the object of their fear, neither be ye terrified.
13. JEHOVAH God of Hosts, sanctify ye him;
And let him be your fear, and let him be your dread.
14. And he shall be unto you a sanctuary:
But a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence,
To the two houses of Israel;
A trap, and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
15. And many among them shall stumble,
And shall fall, and be broken and shall be ensnared, and caught."

It appears that the people, having now forsaken the oracles of Jehovah, were accustomed to "seek unto the necromancers and the wizards; to them that speak inwardly and that mutter." The prophet, after presenting himself and his children before the Lord, and after declaring his own resolution to "*wait for Jehovah*, who hideth his face from the house of Jacob," reproves this ungodly practice of his countrymen, exhorts the people and their teachers once more to seek the Lord, and completes this part of his prophecy with a threat, in case of their continued disobedience, of anguish, famine, gross darkness, and utter desolation.

viii, 19. "Should not a people seek unto their God?
Should they seek, instead, of the living, unto the dead?
20. Unto the command, and unto the testimony, let them seek:

If they will not speak according to this word,
In which there is no obscurity;
21. Every one of them shall pass through the land distressed and famished:
And when he shall be famished, and angry with himself,
He shall curse his king and his God.
22. And he shall cast his eyes upwards, and look down to the earth:
And lo! distress and darkness!
Gloom, tribulation, and accumulated darkness!"

Such were the judgments which awaited the rebellious Jews and Israelites. But now, in conclusion, the eye of the seer is once more anointed to behold, and his tongue loosened to declare, the destruction of the enemies of the church, and the peaceable reign of an incarnate Saviour.

This concluding passage, Lowth has, with admirable propriety and skill, rendered as follows:—

viii, 23. "But there shall not hereafter be darkness in the land which was distressed:
In the former time he debased[9]
The land of Zebulon, and the land of Naphthali;
But in the latter time he hath made it glorious:[1]
Even the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations.

9 "Debased," הֵקַל from קָלָה *levis, vilis fuit: in hiph. vilem fecit.* Vid. *Sim. Lex.* in voc.

1 "Made it glorious," הִכְבִּיד from כָּבַד *in honore fuit, honoratus est: in hiph. glorificavit.* Vid. *Sim. Lex.* in voc. 5. This translation is greatly preferable to the received version, "did more grievously afflict."

ix, 1. The people, that walked in darkness,
Have seen a great light;
They that dwelled in the land of the shadow of death,
Unto them hath the light shined.

2. Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy:[2]
They rejoice before thee, as with the joy of harvest;
As they rejoice, who divide the spoil.

3. For the yoke of his burden, the staff laid on his shoulder,
The rod of his oppressor, hast thou broken, as in the day of Midian.

4. For all the greaves of the armed warrior in the conflict,[3]
And the garment rolled in much blood,
Shall be for a burning, even fuel for the fire.

5. For unto us a CHILD is born; unto us a SON is given;

2 Ver. 2. "*Not* increased the joy:" *Eng. Trans.* Lowth, on the authority of several MSS. adopts the masoretic reading, לֹ֣ for לֹא. This reading is supported by the Targum, Syr. and Sept. and is confirmed by the most obvious internal evidence.

3 Ver. 4. "For all the greaves of the armed warrior in the conflict." "For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise." *Eng. Trans.* "Quia omnis violenta prædatio cum tumultu." *Vulg.* It is evident from the diversity of these versions, that a considerable uncertainty attaches to the meaning of the Hebrew כִּי כָל־סְאוֹן סֹאֵן בִּרְעָשׁ. But as it is clear from the context that סְאוֹן designates something which was capable of being consumed by fire, Lowth's may be adopted as the preferable version. In Œthiopic and Syriac, סאן means "calceavit, &c." and its derivative סְאוֹן "a shoe or boot." See *Simon. Lex.* in voc. Hence arises a strong probability that סְאוֹן סֹאֵן denotes, as Lowth supposes, *caliga caligati.*

And the government shall be upon his shoulder:
And his name shall be called WONDERFUL,
COUNSELLOR,
The MIGHTY GOD, the FATHER OF THE EVERLASTING AGE, the PRINCE OF PEACE.
6. Of the increase of his government and peace
there shall be no end;
Upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom;
To fix it, and to establish it
With judgment and with justice, henceforth and for ever:
The zeal of JEHOVAH GOD OF HOSTS will do this."

The original of chap. ix, 5, (or in Eng. Trans. ix, 6,) is as follows:

כִּי־יֶלֶד יֻלַּד־לָנוּ בֵּן נִתַּן־לָנוּ וַתְּהִי הַמִּשְׂרָה עַל־שִׁכְמוֹ
וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ אֵל גִּבּוֹר אֲבִי־עַד שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם

On this passage it is, in the first place, to be remarked, that the Hebrew text, as now read, rests on satisfactory authority. In one of Kennicott's MSS. (No. 30, a MS. described by him as abounding in variations) the words אֵל and יוֹעֵץ are, from evident want of care in the copying, omitted; but no other various reading of importance—none, more especially, affecting the words אֵל גִּבּוֹר, the mighty God—is adduced either by Kennicott or De Rossi, writers whose collation of the MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, is well known to have been very comprehensive. The testimony which this passage bears to a doctrine which the Jews vehemently oppose, affords a guarantee of its not having been corrupted by that people; and the authority of the MSS. is, in this instance, confirmed by the ancient versions in general; viz. *Vulg. Syr. Targ. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.* Neither does the strangely inaccurate version here given by the LXX, afford an exception to this remark, so far as regards the reading of the words

אֵל גִּבּוֹר, "The Mighty God." That version is as follows: ὅτι παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, υἱὸς καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ· καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος· κ.τ.λ. "For unto us a child is born; unto us a son also is given, whose government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called THE ANGEL OF THE GREAT COUNSEL, &c." Now, it is most probable that μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος is nothing more than a loose paraphrastic version of פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ אֵל גִּבּוֹר; for the LXX have elsewhere translated אֱלָהּ God, as signifying *angel*, and here they appear to have applied the same version to אֵל.[a] Or, as Vitringa supposes, they may have understood אֵל גִּבּוֹר, as equivalent with גַּבְרִי אֵל, the name of the angel *Gabriel*.[4]

As the reading of this verse is established on firm grounds, so, in the second place, the meaning of it admits of little reasonable dispute. The version of it given by Bishop Lowth, (with scarcely any variation from E. T.) exactly represents the Hebrew original. The following remarks on many of the

[a] See Ps. viii, 5; xcvi, 7. *Sept.*

[4] Jerome, in his commentary on this passage, accuses the LXX of having corrupted or wilfully misinterpreted the text—"Quia nominum majestate perterritos LXX reor non esse ausos de puero dicere quod aperte Deus appellandus est et cætera, sed pro his sex nominibus posuisse quod in Hebraico non continetur." Their version of the latter part of the verse certainly confirms the notion of their having used a corrupted copy of the original. Ἄξω γὰρ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, "I will bring peace upon the rulers," appears, as Vitringa has remarked, to be the version of אָבִיא עַל שָׂרִים שָׁלוֹם, which they probably read instead of אָבִי־עַד שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם. Pseudo-Ignatius and Eusebius, in citing this passage, after the words μέγαλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος, have added, θαυμαστὸς, σύμβουλος, Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστὴς: *Ignat. ad Antioch. Euseb. Dem. Evang.* lib. vii. And Clemens Alex., still more literally according to the Hebrew, has added θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος, Θεὸς δυνάστης, πατὴρ αἰώνιος, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, *Pæd.* lib. i, ch. v. So also Irenæus—"et vocatur nomen ejus admirabilis consiliarius, Deus fortis:" *Contra Hær.* lib. iv, c. 33. I conceive that these quotations do not shake the authority of the Greek text of the Sept. as it is now read; but are to be regarded as *emendations* of that version. As such, they afford an early and important confirmation of the correctness of the present Hebrew text of Isa. ix, 6.

words of the text will, I trust, serve to elucidate and verify this assertion.

The substantive יֶלֶד is properly rendered *child.*[5] It ought, however, to be observed, that the male sex of the child is marked by the form of the word, which is masculine. On the supposition, therefore, that the next and corresponding clause, "unto us a son is given," was intended to communicate some *additional* information, we are to conclude that the *birth of the child,* and the *gift of the son,* though they might be simultaneous, were not to be identical. The child is *born:* the son is *given.*

2. מִשְׂרָה is by Aquila rendered μέτρον, *measure,* and by Symmachus and Theodotion, παιδεία, *instruction;* but there can be no question that this substantive—derived from שָׂרָה, *principatum tenuit,* and closely connected with שַׂר *princeps* (which occurs in the latter part of the verse)—denotes *government.*[a] The Targum, though here affording but a loose paraphrase, preserves the same idea, וְקַבֵּיל אוֹרַיְתָא עֲלוֹהִי לְמִטְרַהּ, "*et suscepit legem super se, ut servaret eam.*" The government may be represented as resting on the *shoulder* of the monarch, either under the idea of a burthen to be supported, or of a royal vestment, or, it may be, of a staff or sceptre, to denote authority.[b]

3. The verb יִקְרָא may, with great propriety, be pointed as in the *niphal* or passive voice; and as such it is rendered by *Syr. Vulg. Sept. Arab. Aquil. and Sym.* If, however, we adopt the present pointing of the verb, it must be regarded as indefinite—("one) shall call his name, &c." Of this indefinite use of the verb קָרָא, there are many examples in the Hebrew Scriptures.[c] If, then, the verb is passive, it is governed by שְׁמוֹ, "his name;" if active, by a nominative understood in pursuance of a common Hebrew idiom; nor can יִקְרָא, even in that case, be better rendered than by the passive verb, as by Lowth and in E. T.

[a] So *Sept. Syr. Vulg. Arab.* [b] *Comp. Jon.* iii, 6. [c] Gen. xvi, 14; xxxviii, 29; Josh. v, 9; Judg. i, 17; 2 Sam. ii, 16; Jer. xxiii, 6.

[5] *Sym.* νεανίας; *Aquil. and* LXX, παιδίον; *Vulg. parvulus.*

4. The first name on the list (פֶּלֶא) is rightly rendered *wonderful*, the original idea being that of concealment or mystery; for the passive verb נִפְלָא, signifies *velatus, occultus est.*[a] So when Manoah enquired after the name of the angel of the Covenant, the angel answered, "Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is *secret?*"[6]

5. אֵל גִּבּוֹר, "the mighty God," can signify only one being —JEHOVAH. Aquila, who was a violent enemy to the Christian system, has been copied by Symmachus and Theodotion, who are supposed to have been Ebionites,[7] in rendering אֵל by ἰσχυρὸς, "strong." But אֵל, as has been shown in a note on the preceding essay, is capable of no subordinate meaning. It signifies *God*, and is not to be confounded with אֵיל, *strength* or *strong*. The usual meaning of אֵל is, in this passage, amply confirmed by the epithet גִּבּוֹר, mighty; for אֵל, with this addition, (like our term, "the Almighty") is one of those appellations by which JEHOVAH is distinguished *from all false gods.*[b] With the exception of the LXX, and Aquila with his two followers, all the ancient translators, as well as Kimchi and other modern Jews, unite in rendering אֵל גִּבּוֹר, by words equivalent to DEUS FORTIS.

6. אֲבִי־עַד, in E. T., "the everlasting Father," is by Bp. Lowth more literally rendered, "The Father of the everlasting age." עַד, used as a substantive, signifies a perpetual procession of time, *eternity.*[c]

The method which Jarchi, Kimchi, and other Jews, have adopted, in order to elude the force of this passage, as it relates to the divinity of the Messiah, is extremely awkward—*mole ruit sua.* These interpreters construe the series of titles פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ אֵל גִּבּוֹר אֲבִי־עַד as the names of God, and as

[a] Vid. *Simon. Lex.* [b] Isa. x, 21; Deut. x, 17; Neh. ix, 32; Jer. xxxii, 18. [c] So Ps. ix, 18; Prov. xii, 19; Mic. vii, 18, &c.; vide *Simon. Lex.*

[6] *Heb.* פֶּלֶא; *Eng. Trans. marg. wonderful;* Judg. xiii, 18.

[7] "The heresy of the Ebionites approached nearer to the religion of the Jews, than to that of the orthodox Christians. They professed indeed to believe in Christ as the true Messiah, but held him to be no more than a mere man:" *Prideaux's Conn.* fol. ed. vol. ii, p. 40.

governing the verb יִקְרָא. According to them, therefore, the passage is to be rendered, "The Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Father of Eternity, shall call his name (i. e. the name of the child) Prince of Peace." I know of nothing which can be pleaded in favor of this version, except the example of the Targumist, who has perverted the passage—for the same reason probably—in a nearly similar manner. His words are וְאִתְקְרֵי שְׁמֵיהּ מִן קֳדָם מַפְלְיָא עֲצָה אֱלָהָא גִּבָּרָא קַיָּם לְעָלְמַיָּא מְשִׁיחָא, which, although otherwise rendered in Walton's polyglott, evidently signify, "And his name shall be called by the wonderful counsellor, the mighty God, who abideth for ever, *Messiah*." The reader will perceive that the Targumist has rendered יִקְרָא by a passive verb, and has assisted his paraphrase by the introduction of the preposition מִן קֳדָם, *a* or *ab*, to which preposition there is nothing corresponding in the Hebrew Text. The more literal version proposed by Jarchi, Kimchi, &c. is directly opposed to a rule of construction which in similar instances appears to be uniformly observed; namely, that the person *qui nuncupat*, if mentioned at all, is mentioned before the word שֵׁם, *(nomen)* and that the name which follows שֵׁם belongs to the person *qui nuncupatur*. This rule is stated by Cocceius, and is verified by numerous examples. Thus we read in Exod. xvii, 15, וַיִּבֶן מֹשֶׁה מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ יְהוָה נִסִּי. "And Moses built an altar and called its name *Jehovah-nissi*." This verse is just as capable of misinterpretation as Isa. ix, 6; but I presume that no Hebraist would think of construing יְהוָה, which comes *after* שֵׁם, as the governing nominative of the preceding verb יִקְרָא. Had it been the meaning of Moses that *Jehovah* named the altar *Nissi*, his words would obviously have assumed a different order; viz. וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ נִסִּי.[a] Independently, however, of the rule now stated, every impartial observer will perceive that this Jewish interpretation is forced and unnatural. It is indeed scarcely possible, that in a sentence re-

[a] Gen. xxviii, 19; Exod. xvi, 31; xvii, 7; Judg. xv, 19; 2 Sam. v, 20; 1 Kings vii, 21; Job xlii, 14; *comp.* Matt. i, 25; Luke i, 13.

lating, in a most pointed manner, to *another person*, God the Father should be *incidentally* mentioned, not by one of his known and usual names, but by a succession of four extraordinary and emphatic titles; especially since *the two first* of these (Wonderful and Counsellor) are not exclusively characteristic of JEHOVAH. The whole stress of the passage is indisputably placed on the *child* to be born—the *son* to be given; the names bestowed upon him naturally and grammatically *follow* the substantive יֶלֶד; and they form such a compact, orderly, and harmonious, series, as appears to be capable of no disruption.[8]

Unreasonable, however, as is the gloss which we have now been combating, there is one point in which it confirms the commonly-received interpretation of the passage; for it involves the confession of some of the most learned of the Jews, that this series of titles, taken as a whole, is capable of being understood *only* of one who is truly and absolutely GOD.

A single additional observation remains to be offered on this passage; viz. that the titles Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Father of Eternity, and Prince of Peace, are widely different from mere proper names. Although, according to that common idiom of the Hebrew to which we have already adverted, they

[8] "Id ausus est Grotius," observes a commentator in Poole's Syn. "quod non ausi sunt ipsi Judæi." With the view of adapting this prophecy to King Hezekiah, this learned, but sometimes audacious, critic, renders יוֹעֵץ אֵל גִּבּוֹר by "*consultator Dei fortis*, id est qui in omnibus negotiis consilia a Deo poscit." Were there in the Hebrew Text any grounds for this novel interpretation, the Jews would probably have seized upon it as favourable to their system, but none of them suggest such an idea; and that the Masorites did not entertain it, is evident from the accents, which are disjunctive, and denote a separation of sense between יוֹעֵץ and אֵל גִּבּוֹר. The Hebrew words are in fact incapable of the version proposed by Grotius, for the verb יָעַץ signifies *consilium dat*, and the participial substantive יוֹעֵץ uniformly represents the person who *gives*, and not the person who *asks*, counsel,—*consiliarius*, not *consultator*: see *Simon. Lex. and Taylor's Conc.* in voc. The absurdity of this version is further manifested by the next title in the series, "the Father of eternity"—a title wholly inapplicable to the supposed *consultator Dei fortis*.

are described as the *name* of the mysterious child; they *cannot* be interpreted otherwise than as brief, emphatic, descriptions of his *nature and attributes*. The predicted birth of the child proves that he was to be MAN; the delineation here given of his *name*, that is, of his person and character, plainly show that he is also GOD.

Having taken a general view of the contents of these prophecies, and critically examined some of their more important parts, we may now proceed to trace the evidences of their fulfilment.

Every one who is accustomed to examine the structure of Hebrew prophecy, must be aware of the connexion subsisting between those parts of it which relate to the temporal affairs of the Israelites or Jews, and those which are descriptive of the great truths of the Gospel dispensation. Sometimes the prediction has a double sense. The temporal deliverance and restoration of the Jews are foretold in language, which irresistibly conveys the additional idea of the eternal redemption of God's children, and of the enlargement and settlement of the church of Christ. And in the emphatic descriptions of David and Solomon, are often foreshewn the sufferings, or the glory, of their divine descendant. Still more frequently, however, the temporal and spiritual predictions are *intermingled*, and form an accordant whole; capable, nevertheless, of being distinguished into widely different parts.

Such precisely is the character of the general prophecy which we are now considering. Although, for the most part, it is of a temporal signification, relating to the history of Judah and Israel, yet it contains passages which evidently bear an import of a far higher nature, and of which it is in vain to seek even the appearance of an accomplishment, except in the great

events of the Christian dispensation. Both parts of the prophecy have however been fulfilled, and in so distinct and complete a manner, as to afford a satisfactory evidence of the inspiration of the prophet.

Let us then, in the first place, endeavour to trace the fulfilment of that larger proportion of these predictions, which relates to the affairs of Judah and Israel.

We have already noticed the circumstances under which they were delivered—the invasion of Judæa by Rezin and Pekah, and the siege of Jerusalem itself in the second year, as it is supposed, of king Ahaz, viz. B. C. 741. The combined force of the invaders, and the success which they had obtained in the preceding campaign, were calculated to deprive the besieged of all hope; and we read that "the heart of the king and the heart of his people was moved, as the trees of the forest are moved before the wind."[a] The prophecy, however, which went forth respecting the design of these hostile princes—"It shall not stand, neither shall it be;"—was literally fulfilled; for *history* informs us that "Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel, came up to Jerusalem to war; and they besieged Ahaz, but COULD NOT OVERCOME HIM."[b]

Shearjashub, as we may presume, was then a child. The birth of Maher-shalal-hash-baz was probably near at hand. The prophecy declares that before the former would understand the distinction between good and evil, and the latter begin to cry, My father, my mother—that is, I presume, within two or three years from the date of the prediction—the land of Syria and Israel should be forsaken; and the rulers of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, be borne away before the king of Assyria. With

[a] Isa. vii, 2. [b] 2 Kings xvi, 5.

this part of the prophecy, also, the event exactly corresponds. Within about two years, (that is in the year 740 or 739, B.C.) Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, prompted by the bribes of Ahaz, invaded Syria, *besieged and took Damascus, and slew Rezin.*[a] Nor were these the whole of the ravages which he committed. He proceeded into the land of Israel, and directed his efforts, in a particular manner, against the northern and eastern parts of it, which, on his march from Damascus, would of course be first exposed to his attack. He "took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria."[b] He also carried away "the Reubenites and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh."[c] Thus was the land of Israel "*forsaken*" by a large portion of its people; and, like Syria, it was soon afterwards deprived of its king; for in the *fourth* year of Ahaz, (739 B. C.) "Hoshea, the son of Elah, made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him and slew him, and reigned in his stead."[d]

In chapter viii, 7, we read, that the invasion of the Assyrians was to overwhelm Israel, like a mighty flood of the waters of Euphrates. This prophecy was partially accomplished in the days of Tiglath-pileser, whose expedition has now been described, and who, doubtless, returned to his home triumphant, followed by his Syrian and Israelitish captives, and laden with the riches of Samaria as well as of Damascus. But the just judgments of the Lord were yet more largely executed by his successor Salmanassar, who, in the ninth year of Hoshea the last king of the ten tribes, after a long siege, took Samaria, carried the people away

[a] 2 Kings xvi, 9. [b] xv, 29. [c] 1 Chron. v, 26. [d] 2 Kings xv, 30.

captive, and put an end to the kingdom of Israel.[a] Finally, it appears that the work of subversion and eradication was completed by Esar-haddon, (probably Salmanassar's grandson,) who "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel."[b]

It is calculated that this last event took place in the year B. C. 678—just sixty-four years after the commencement of the reign of Ahaz; and since that period, the ten tribes of Israel have been lost among the nations of the earth. Thus literally and completely was fulfilled the prophecy, "Within threescore and five years, Ephraim shall be broken, that HE BE NO MORE A PEOPLE."

Equally clear is the light which history throws on those parts of the prophecy, which relate to JUDAH.

The sufferings of the Jews from the attack of Rezin and Pekah, and the *prediction* and *fact* of their deliverance from these enemies have been already noticed. In chap. viii, 8—10, are foretold a similar affliction and a similar deliverance. "And he (the king of Assyria) shall pass through Judah, overflowing and spreading, even to the neck shall he reach; and the extension of his wings shall be over the full breadth of thy land, O Immanuel." This prediction was remarkably verified in the time of Sennacherib, (713 B. C.) who, with an immense army, passed through Judæa, and like waters rising to the neck of persons in danger of being drowned, threatened the final destruction of Jerusalem itself. But the prophet, in a passage fraught, as it appears, with a temporal as well as a spiritual meaning, intimates that these hostile designs

[a] 2 Kings xvii, 6. [b] xvii, 24: *comp.* Ezra iv, 2, 10. [c] Isa. vii, 8.

against Judah were to be utterly frustrated. "Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought: speak the word, and it shall not stand; for God is with us."[a] Accordingly, history informs us, that, in the extremity of their danger, the Jews were again delivered. God himself was *present* for their protection. "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians, an hundred and fourscore and five thousand; and when they (the Jews) arose early in the morning, behold they (the Assyrians) were all *dead corpses*."[b]

Here the prophecy and the history are in full accordance; and while they detail a partial suffering, both have their principal relation to the protection divinely bestowed on a people who then formed the visible church of God. Nevertheless, the Jews were, *in the end*, to be effectually punished for their desertion of the true God, for their inveterate idolatry, and for their reliance on Assyria. Their national calamities were, at a future period, to be of a more severe and permanent character than those inflicted by Rezin, Pekah, or Sennacherib, and they were to terminate in the captivity of the people, and the desertion and desolation of the whole land.

The declaration of prophecy on this subject, contained in Chap. vii, 17—25, is striking and luminous. The substance of the prediction is as follows:—that such days of trouble were to overtake Ahaz, his family, and people, as the Jews had never before experienced since their separation from the ten tribes—that the Egyptians and Assyrians were to be instruments in the hand of God for inflicting this vengeance upon Judah —that these enemies were to come like vast flights

[a] Isa. viii, 10. [b] 2 Kings, xix, 35.

of flies and bees, and cover the land—that Jehovah, by his hired razor, the king of Assyria, was to shave the head, and hair of the feet, and even the beard; that is, to destroy, or utterly subdue, the nobles, the common people, and even the king—finally, "that whosoever should be left in the midst of the land" would live in plenty, because of the extreme thinness of the population, for the whole country would be deserted and become a wilderness.

Such is the declaration of prophecy—and what is the corresponding record of history? In the first place, we read that, "the Lord brought Judah low because of Ahaz..... and Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria came unto him and *distressed* him, and strengthened him not."[a] Thus Ahaz received his own share of suffering, at the hands of the Assyrians on whom he placed so dangerous a dependence.

Secondly, the family and descendants of Ahaz, in an after age, became a prey to the armies of *Egypt*. In the year 610 B.C., Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the Assyrians to the river Euphrates —slew Josiah, King of the Jews, at the battle of Megiddo—turned his arms against Judah—carried away Jehoahaz, the son and successor of Josiah, captive into Egypt—made Jehoiakim, the brother of Jehoahaz, king; and subjected the country to a heavy tribute.[b]

Thirdly, the *Assyrians* not only overwhelmed Judæa for a short time, under the command of Sennacherib, (B. C. 713) but at a later and more momentous period, when subject to the government of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, they repeatedly overran and laid

[a] 2 Chron. xxviii, 19, 20. [b] 2 Kings xxiii, 29—35.

waste the land.[9] That monarch who, in all probability, is the person described by the prophet as the "hired razor" of JEHOVAH, might truly be said "to shave the head, and hair of the feet, and even the beard." In the year 599 B.C., he besieged and took Jerusalem, despoiled the temple of its treasures, and carried away Jehoiachim king of Judah, and his princes, and ten thousand of his men of valour, captive into the land of Babylon.[a] In the year 590 B.C., Zedekiah, king of Judah having thrown off the yoke of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar again invaded Judæa. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were exposed, during a long siege, to almost unparalleled affliction. Finally, the city was broken up, the temple burnt, the nobles destroyed, the sons of Zedekiah slain, the king himself cruelly deprived of sight, and, together with the "rest of the multitude of his people," made captive and carried into Chaldæa.[b] With regard to the people who remained in the land, they, for a short period, were left in the enjoyment of peace and plenty, but, being disquieted by needless fears, they deserted Judæa, and went to dwell in Egypt.[c] Thus was the dynasty of Judah suspended—thus did the land of promise *become a neglected waste and a thorny wilderness.*

Here it may be observed, that there is scarcely any point of importance within the range of biblical literature, susceptible of clearer proof than the *genuine-*

[a] 2 Kings xxiv, 10—14. [b] xxv, 1—21; Jer. lii, 15. [c] 2 Kings, xxv, 26.

[9] The people who inhabited the country "beyond the river," (Isa. vii, 20.) i. e. "beyond Euphrates," are styled, in scripture, *Assyrians*, when under the dynasty of Babylon, and even of Persia, as well as when under that of Nineveh: see Ezra vi, 22; Neh. ix, 32; Isa. xiv, 25. Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, is probably the person who, in 2 Kings xxiii, 29, is described as the "king of Assyria." So Herodotus speaks of Babylon as becoming, after the overturn of Nineveh, the metropolis of *Assyria*, lib. i, § 178.

ness of the prophecies of Isaiah. The external evidence of it, derived from the unvarying tradition of the Jews, from the early existence of the Septuagint version, and from the clear testimonies of Philo and Josephus, as well as of almost all the writers of the New Testament, is amply confirmed by marks of an internal character. The unfailing peculiarity of Isaiah's diction —the congruity which subsists between the several parts of his writings—and the apparently undesigned agreement with other historical records, of the *scene* in which he is engaged, and of the *circumstances* under which he speaks—are all calculated to produce a satisfactory conviction, that he actually delivered the prophecies which bear his name.

With regard to that particular series of predictions, which we have now been considering, not only do these evidences of genuineness bear upon them with full force, but the historical conjuncture under which they were delivered is plainly stated, and thus nearly their precise date is ascertained. Hence it follows that the events to which they relate, some of which occurred during the life of Isaiah, and others long after his decease, were, at the time of the delivery of the prophecy, *unquestionably future.* Since, therefore, these events form an extraordinary and complex series, far beyond the scope of human foresight, we may rest assured that predictions, which we find to have been with such marvellous exactness fulfilled, were truly "given by inspiration of God."

The very exactness, however, of the correspondence between these predictions and the events by which they were fulfilled, affords a presumptive evidence that the remaining parts of the prophecy—parts which were

uttered on the same authority, but of which the merely temporal history of Judah and Israel offers no tolerable explanation—must be unlocked by another key. That key will be found in the dispensation of the Gospel, which opens the whole mystery.

"Therefore, JEHOVAH himself shall give you a sign:
Behold, the VIRGIN conceiveth and beareth (or shall conceive and bear) a son;
And she shall call his name IMMANUEL."[a]

Now, we may safely assert, that in the merely civil and temporal history of Judah or Israel, this prophecy—marked and definite as it is in its character—has never been accomplished. No such miracle ever took place in connexion with that history. No child of whom we read, in Judah or Israel, before the Christian era, either of the royal, or priestly, or prophetic stock, was born of a VIRGIN. None bore the proper name of IMMANUEL; none, above all, could possibly fulfil in his own person, the characteristic description of GOD WITH US.

Some of the modern Jews have applied the prophecy to one of the sons of Isaiah. But in no respect could any son of the prophet have answered to the description which he gives us of the Virgin's child. Such a notion, more especially, is refuted by the comparison of ch. viii, 8, where the land of Judah appears to be described as the *inheritance* or *possession* of IMMANUEL. It was, with much greater show of reason, that the more ancient opposers of Christianity among that people, explained the prediction, as Justin testifies,[b] of Hezekiah, the son and virtuous successor of Ahaz—an explanation, which (so far as relates to a supposed

[a] *Lowth's Version*, vii, 14. [b] *Dial. cum Tryph.* Ed. Ben. p. 166.

subordinate sense of the prophecy,) has been adopted by Grotius and some other Christian commentators.

But the terms of the prophecy respecting the *virgin* mother and the name *Immanuel,* appear to be too remarkable and precise, to admit even of a subordinate application to a person, whose paternal descent is on record, and to whom that name does not appear to have been ever given. All attempts, however, to apply this passage to Hezekiah, are precluded by one circumstance —namely, that the prophecy speaks of a child not yet born—whereas Hezekiah had then arrived at the age of *ten years.* Ahaz reigned *sixteen* years.[a] Hezekiah his successor began to reign "when he was *twenty-five* years old."[b] Therefore, in the second year of Ahaz, when this prophecy appears to have been delivered, Hezekiah was *ten years old.* In the chronology now stated, there is indeed one considerable difficulty; namely, that Ahaz is said to have been "twenty years old" when he began to reign, according to which account, he could only have lived eleven years, when his son Hezekiah was born.[c] But the parallel passage,[d] supplies a various reading, by which this difficulty is surmounted. In one of De Rossi's MSS. of that passage, and in the Sept. Syr. and Ar. versions, for עֶשְׂרִים "twenty," we read וְחָמֵשׁ עֶשְׂרִים, "*twenty-five,*" which reading De Rossi, Houbigant, and others, do not hesitate to adopt as the true one. Now, if this emendation is correct, Hezekiah must have been born when Ahaz, his father, was *sixteen* years old—a circumstance which the known practice of very early marriage among the Hebrews renders entirely probable.[1]

[a] 2 Kings xvi, 2; 2 Chron. xxviii, 1. [b] 2 Kings xviii, 1; 2 Chron. xxix, 1. [c] 2 Kings xvi, 2. [d] 2 Chron. xxviii, 1.

1 "The Hebrews generally married young. According to the

Although some of the Jews, in early times, applied this prediction to Hezekiah, it is probable that others of them acknowledged its relation to the Messiah. This was probably the case with Jonathan, the Targumist, for since he has explained Isa. ix, 5, of the *Messiah*, it is scarcely possible that he could otherwise interpret the obviously corresponding passage in Isa. vii, 14. On this subject, however, we are in possession of evidence far more weighty and important —first, the indirect testimony of the prophet Micah; and, secondly, the positive declaration of the apostle Matthew.

First, with respect to Micah. In one of his prophecies, which contains strong internal evidences of its relation to the Messiah, and which we know to have been so applied by the Jews, in the days of Christ,* this prophet appears to have alluded to some already existing tradition or prediction;—"But thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel: whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. Therefore will he give them up until the time when *she that travaileth hath brought forth;* then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel. And he shall stand and feed in the strength of *Jehovah*, in the majesty of the name of JEHOVAH his GOD; and they shall abide: for now shall he be great unto

* Matt. ii, 6; John vii, 42.

Rabbins, men should marry at eighteen. Whoever is not married at this age offends against the commandment given by God in Gen. i, 28. They may anticipate this age but not exceed it. *After thirteen years they may marry*,—the virgins are contracted very early, but not married till after *twelve years complete*." *Calmet's Dict.* Art. *Marriages*.

the ends of the earth.[a]" There is an obvious probability that "she that travaileth" is here recalled to view as a person *already designated* in the records of prophecy. Now, since Micah began to prophesy at a later date than Isaiah, from whose writings he has actually borrowed,[b] there is much reason for the belief that he here alluded to the *public* and *celebrated* declaration of his precursor, respecting the *Virgin conceiving and bearing a son.*

But the relation of Isaiah vii, 14, to the Messiah, which is thus probable from the collateral evidence of a nearly cotemporary prophecy, is rendered indisputable to every Christian inquirer, by the authority of the apostle Matthew. After describing the miraculous conception and birth of Jesus Christ, he adds, "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel, which, being interpreted, is GOD WITH US."[c]

Having thus ascertained the relation of this prediction—the *only* relation, I conceive, of which it is capable—it remains for us to mark its literal and perfect fulfiment. In order to this end, we may, in the first place, compare it with the address of the angel Gabriel to the virgin Mary, which is to be regarded as an enlarged repetition of the prophecy uttered immediately before its accomplishment. "'Fear not Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. And behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS. He shall be great, and shall be called the son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father Da-

[a] John v, 2—4. [b] *Comp.* Isa. ii, and Mic. iv. [c] Matt. i, 22, 23.

vid. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.' Then said Mary unto the angel, 'How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?' And the angel answered and said unto her, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore, also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the SON OF GOD."[a] Here, in the *continuation* of prophecy, we have an extended and luminous account of the virgin's conceiving and bearing a son—of the divine origin of the miracle which GOD had promised to bestow—of the sonship, divinity, and eternal power of the child about to be born. And what is the corresponding record of the *fact?* "*Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: when as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost*..... and (Joseph) knew her not till she had brought forth her firstborn son: and he called his name JESUS."[b]

No prophecy ever contained the tidings of a more improbable event than Isa. vii, 14. Yet no prophecy was ever more literally fulfilled.

The only shadow of a difficulty lies in the name of the child. In the prophecy he is called Immanuel—In the history his name is JESUS. This apparent difference, however, vanishes before the interpretation of Matthew—"Immanuel, which is *being interpreted*, "God with us."[c] Jesus was the *proper name* of the child; Immanuel, an emphatic description of his person and character. The Angel Gabriel declares that the child was to be *called* "the Son of the Highest," and the "Son of God;" and the apostle John des-

[a] Luke i, 30—35. [b] Matt. i, 18, 25. [c] i, 23.

cribes him under the denomination of the WORD, who was in the beginning with God and was GOD. These are titles synonymous with IMMANUEL.

The next passage in which mention is made of Immanuel, is ch. viii, 8. Speaking of the invasion of Judah by the king of Assyria, the prophet exclaims, "And the extension of his wings shall be over the full breadth of *thy* land, O Immanuel." Immanuel, the Word of God, Jehovah present with his people, was the ruler and possessor of the land of Judah, and to him her kings as well as her people were subject. There is a perfect accordance between the allusion made in this passage to Immanuel, and the declaration of the apostle John, respecting Jesus Christ, the Word—that "he came unto HIS OWN, (τὰ ἴδια his own territory,) and that HIS OWN (οἱ ἴδιοι—his own people,) received him not.[a]

To proceed—In verses 9 and 10, the enemies of God's people are threatened with the utter frustration of their evil designs, because "Immanuel—God (is) with us." It was in vain that Sennacherib, with his mighty host, surrounded the walls of Jerusalem; for Immanuel was the defender of his people. It was, probably, no created angel, but the Angel of the Covenant himself, the divine protector and leader of Israel, who went forth, and in a single night destroyed the armies of Assyria.[b] In like manner are subverted the counsels of our spiritual enemy, by the seed of the woman who has bruised the serpent's head;—"For this purpose the Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil."[c]

Nor are we without a satisfactory evidence of its being the same DIVINE PERSON, respecting whom, un-

[a] John i, 11. [b] Isa. xxxvii, 36. [c] 1 John iii, 8.

der the name of "Jehovah, God of Hosts,"—even the only and true God—Isaiah continues his prophecy as follows:

13. "Jehovah God of Hosts, sanctify ye Him:
And let him be your fear, and let Him be your dread:
14. And he shall be unto you a sanctuary:
But a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence,
To the two houses of Israel;
A trap, and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
15. And many among them shall stumble,
And shall fall, and be broken; and shall be insnared, and caught."[a]

There are two other memorable predictions which describe the Messiah under the figure of a *stone*. The first is Psalm cxviii, 22—"The stone which the builders refused is become the head-stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." This prophecy is applied by our Saviour to himself, in Matt. xxi, 42; and it is worthy of remark, that in the same passage, "this chief corner stone" is represented, by our Lord, as a stone of stumbling—"And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken."[2]

The remaining prediction alluded to, is that in Isa. xxviii, 16. "Behold I lay in Zion, for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste."[3] Now the apostle Paul quotes the beginning and end of this verse, in connexion with the description of *Je-*

[a] *Lowth's Version.*

[2] *Comp.* Isa. viii, 15;—"And many among them shall stumble and shall fall and be broken."

[3] Heb. לֹא יָחִישׁ Sept. οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ—"shall not be ashamed."

hovah in Isa. viii, 14; and applies *the whole* to Christ.[a] "Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law. *For they stumbled at that stumbling stone;* as it is written, Behold I lay in Zion *a stumbling stone and rock of offence*, and whosoever believeth on *him* shall not be ashamed."

The ideas embraced by the apostle, as well as by our Saviour himself, appear to be these,—that the stone laid in Zion was a sure support to the believer, but to the unbeliever the occasion of his fall, and therefore the means of his destruction. So also we find the apostle Peter quoting both passages from Isaiah as well as Psalm cxviii, 22, and in a similar sense applying them *all* to Jesus.[b] "Wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture, Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.[c] Unto you therefore which believe he is precious; but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner,[d] and a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient, whereunto also they were appointed."[e]

The allusion made, in the last part of this passage, to Isaiah viii, 14, is no less explicit than that contained in the preceding clauses, to Isaiah xxviii, 16, and Ps. cxviii, 22; and may be considered as implying the decision of the apostle Peter, that the former, as well as the two latter of these prophecies, relates to the *Son of God.* The declaration of its being *appointed*

[a] Rom. ix, 31—33. [b] 1 Pet. ii, 6—8. [c] *Comp.* Isa. xxviii, 16.
[d] *Comp.* Psalm cxviii, 22. [e] *Comp.* Isa. viii, 14.

that the Jews, being disobedient, should stumble over this rock of offence, has, indeed, an apparent connexion with the fact, that their doing so was the subject of a clear and determinate prediction.

It appears, then, that we are in possession of apostolic authority for explaining the prophecy in Isa. viii, 14, respecting *Jehovah*, as relating to our Lord Jesus Christ. Now this conclusion is amply confirmed by *history*. After the Jews had finally renounced idolatry, (which was the case on their return from Babylon,) God the Father was to them no "stone of stumbling," or "rock of offence:" on the contrary, they prided themselves on their distinguishing belief respecting the one true God. But in Immanuel, the incarnate Son, they met with a stone and a rock, over which they stumbled. Utterly did they reject and abhor the doctrine, that the lowly Nazarene was the Messiah of Israel, and the Saviour of the world. "Is not this the carpenter," said they, "the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and of Juda, and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us? And they were *offended* at him, ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ," that is, properly, "they *stumbled* because of him."[a] And when, at length, the Lamb of God (in completion of the shadows of the law, and of the predictions of the prophets,) had offered up himself a sacrifice for sin—when Jesus of Nazareth had died the death of a malefactor—the *offence* was confirmed and completed. "Christ crucified" was indeed "to the Jews a stumbling block," σκάνδαλον.[b] "Many among them"[c] despised and rejected "the shepherd, the *stone* of Israel."[d] And what was the consequence? Precisely that which the prophecy had de-

[a] Mark vi, 3, &c. &c. [b] 1 Cor. i, 23. [c] See Isa. viii, 15. [d] Gen. xlix, 24.

clared. They *fell and were broken, and were ensnared and caught.* Deprived of the favour of their God and Saviour, they lapsed into a state of confirmed infidelity and sinfulness. They were overpowered by their enemies. They were carried captive into distant countries. Their religious institutions and their civil polity were for ever demolished.

On the other hand, to those who believed in him, and who sanctified him in their hearts, the Lord Jesus was "a *sanctuary.*" Not only was this true in a spiritual sense,—not only did his humble and persecuted followers derive from their Lord and Saviour, in every hour of difficulty and trial, *internal* strength and consolation,—but, even in an outward point of view, the Great Head of the Church was their sure protector. In the midst of all their sufferings, their *cause* prospered in his hands. The Christians of Judæa, by their divinely directed flight to Pella, were rescued, as is well known, from the destruction which, in the days of Titus, overwhelmed their countrymen.[a] At the very time when the Jewish people were dispersed, and their civil and religious system completely subverted, Christianity was rapidly diffusing itself in every direction. The church of Christ was settled on *the Rock;* and the gates of hell have never been able to prevail against it.

So far then, there is to be observed an exact consistency between *evangelical prophecy*, as contained in these chapters, and *evangelical history.* It remains for us to mark the fulfilment of that astonishing prediction, with which, as with a blaze of light, the prophet brings his whole subject to a close.

This prediction, which I have already cited from

[a] *Euseb. H. E.* lib. iii, cap. 5.

Lowth's version, extends from viii, 23, to ix, 6. The substance of it is as follows: The land of Zebulon, the land of Naphthali, the country beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations—a district at one time distressed and debased—was in a future age to be enlightened and made glorious.[a] A great light was to arise, and shine on the people which had walked in darkness, and dwelt under the shadow of death.[b] The nation was to be multiplied and their joy increased, as the joy of those who reap the harvest, and triumph over their enemies.[c] For the rod and yoke of their oppressors were to be as effectually broken, as were those of the Midianites, in the days of Gideon.[d] So complete indeed was to be the victory, so sure the peace of the people alluded to, that every relict of the conflict was to disappear—the warrior's greaves and the blood-stained garments were to become fuel for the fire.[e] All these effects were to result from the birth of a child—the gift of a SON; on whose shoulder was to rest the government; who should bear the character of Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the Father of eternity, and the Prince of peace.[f] Finally, this glorious Person was with perfect justice and equity to adorn the throne and establish the kingdom of David, that is, the kingdom promised to David and to his seed for ever; and of the increase or amplitude of his peaceable dominion there was to be no limit.[g]

Such are the particulars of this extraordinary prediction, and who that is versed in the history and doctrine of *Christ* will refuse to allow that they are fulfilled in *Him?*

We may, in the first place, direct our attention to

[a] *Lowth's Version*, viii, 23. [b] ix, 1. [c] ver. 2. [d] ver. 3. [e] ver. 4. [f] ver. 5. [g] ver. 6.

the *geographical* part of this prophecy. Singularly exact, in point both of place and circumstances, is the correspondence of the description contained in ch. viii, 23, with facts recorded in Scripture. Within a few years of the delivery of this prophecy, the region here so clearly designated was laid waste by the armies of Tiglath-pileser;[a] and thus "in the former time," was "*distressed*" and "*debased.*" But, at a later era, this very region was selected for the habitation, and glorified by the presence, of Jesus the true Messiah. Here it was that "the people that walked in darkness saw a great light." Here it was that "the sun of righteousness" broke forth with all its effulgence on those "that dwelled in the land of the shadow of death."

Nazareth, the dwelling place of our Lord Jesus Christ, was in the territory of Zebulon. Capernaum, which he afterwards inhabited, and in the neighbourhood of which many of his miracles were wrought, was a principal town of Naphthali, and was situated "by the way of the sea;" that is, on the shores of the sea of Tibereas. The whole of the surrounding district was called Galilee, and the northern part of it, which included the tribe of Naphthali, in consequence of being partly inhabited by strangers, was distinguished as "Galilee *of the nations.*" The river Jordan bounded the district now described, on the east; and accordingly, there is little doubt that the words "*beyond* Jordan" have respect to the situation of that river, as it regards Syria—the country through which Tiglath-pileser marched when he invaded the land of Israel. The sea of Tiberias, on the western shore of which stood Capernaum, is nothing more than a very extensive lake, through which the Jordan flows.

[a] 2 Kings xv, 29.

That Galilee was not only the country in which our Saviour dwelt, but was the first and principal scene of his ministry and miracles, and that his apostles also, through whom Christianity was diffused in the world, were most of them men of that country, the reader of the New Testament cannot fail to be aware.[a] Now, the evangelist Matthew, when relating the fact of our Lord's going to dwell at Capernaum, expressly declares that Isaiah's prediction respecting this favoured region *then* received its accomplishment. "Now when Jesus heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up."[b]

"The people" who are under the influence of their fallen nature, and know not a Redeemer, are degraded, afflicted, and ignorant. They are aptly described as "walking in darkness" and dwelling "in the land of the shadow of death." On such a people—in the region thus plainly pointed out—did the light of the gospel break forth with glorious effulgence, in the days of Jesus. By "the people," however, we are not to understand exclusively the inhabitants of any particular country; for the "nation" of believers, originating in Galilee, soon embraced both the Jews and Gentiles of many and distant places. It seems probable that the

[a] Luke iv, v; Acts i, 11. [b] Matt. iv, 12—16; *comp.* Luke ii, 32; John viii, 12.

apostle Peter's mind was directed to this very prophecy, when, in addressing the strangers scattered "throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," he used the following expressions: "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar *people*, that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of *darkness* into his marvellous *light*; which, in time past, were not a people, but are now the *people of God*."[a]

But, according to the prediction, this people were not merely to be illuminated. They were to be multiplied; and their joy was to be increased like the joy of those who reap a harvest, or divide the spoil of their enemies. And what was the fact? After the Lord had ascended and had endued his disciples with "power from on high," they went forth and preached the gospel with the most signal success. It was after no very protracted period, that the believers in Jerusalem alone were described as "many myriads," i. e. "a vast and undefined multitude;"[b] and in the mean time, churches had been planted in most of the principal towns of Syria, Lesser Asia, and Greece. How striking is the correspondence of this part of the prophecy with the following vivid narration! "Then (i. e. after the preaching of Peter on the day of Pentecost,) they that gladly received his word were baptized: *and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls*. And they continued steadfastly in the apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles. And all that believed were together and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted

[a] 1 Pet. ii, 9, 10. [b] Acts xxi, 20, *Greek Text.*

them to all men, as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, *did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God,* and having favour with all the people. And the Lord added unto the church daily such as should be saved."[a]

The joy of the apostles in that day was as the joy of those *who reaped the harvest and divided the spoil.* Then indeed was to be understood the emphatic meaning of another prophecy—a prophecy addressed to the church,—"Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord."[b] Nor was it only during the prosperity and first triumph of the church, that the primitive Christians *rejoiced.* Their joy was of a permanent character; it was fixed on Christ as its object; and even in the depth of tribulation it did not forsake them.[c]

The principal cause of their joy is clearly stated by the prophet; viz. the breaking of the yoke, the staff, and the rod, of "*the oppressor,*" as in the days of Midian, and the destruction of the very relics of the warfare,—in other words, liberty and security, the consequences of victory. As the nation already mentioned has been shown to be the church of God, and their joy the joy of true religion, it follows, that their victory here set forth as the cause of that joy, is of a *spiritual* nature. Of such a victory the New Testament contains an ample record. The unregenerate world, indeed, is subject to "the yoke, the staff, and

[a] Acts ii, 41—47. [b] Isa. liv. 1. [c] Rom. v, 2; Phil. iii, 3; 1 Pet. i, 6—8.

the rod," of the worst and most powerful of oppressors—*the devil.* But from this iron tyranny the nation of true believers is liberated. The Captain of their salvation has obtained for them a victory over their spiritual foes, conclusive and total, like that of Gideon over the Midianites. He has trodden on the serpent's head; he has led captivity captive. Now, therefore, they are delivered from the power of darkness, and "translated into the kingdom of" God's "dear Son;"[a] they are "made free from sin," and are become "the servants of righteousness."[b] And although, during the period of their probation, they must of necessity continue to be exposed to many temptations, yet in due season the very relics of the warfare disappear—death is *swallowed up* in victory,—all is security and peace for ever.[c]

The New Testament teaches us that the Christian's victory is solely through *Christ.* Such also is the declaration of the prophecy; for after describing the triumph of God's people, the prophet proceeds to trace that triumph to its true and only origin,—"For unto us a *child* is born, unto us a *Son* is given." Let us observe the precision with which this prediction applies to Jesus Christ. This mysterious event was to consist of two parts,—the *child* was to be born, the *Son* given,—and such exactly was the fact as declared in the New Testament. "When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth HIS SON *made of a woman*, made *under* the law."[d] The child of Mary was *born*,—and in his birth, the eternal, impassible, Son of God was *given* to mankind. "Unto you is *born*

[a] Col. i, 13. [b] Rom. vi, 18. [c] Acts xxvi, 18; Rom. xvi, 20; 1 Cor. xv, 26; 1 John iii, 8; v, 4; Rev. vi, 2, &c.
[d] Gal. iv, 4.

this day in the city of David a Saviour."[a] "God so loved the world, that he *gave* his ONLY BEGOTTEN SON."[b] We have surely strong reasons to believe, that the prophet's words, in this clause of his sentence, present no mere tautology, but are severally fraught with a distinct meaning. That meaning—the meaning of the Spirit—might be hidden from the prophet himself, as well as from his hearers, but it is brought to light by that fundamental doctrine of the New Testament; namely, that the SON OF GOD was incarnate in the CHILD OF MARY.[c]

Upon the shoulders of this child was to rest the burthen of the government, or the ensign of absolute authority. In other words, he was to be the Messiah, the king of Israel, the supreme Head of his own church. This subject will be more unfolded as we proceed; but in the mean time let us mark the account given in the prophecy of his personal and characteristic attributes. They are indeed divine and peculiar, such as could not, as a whole, be predicted of any one except him who was the *Son of God incarnate.* In him, according to the New Testament, they are *all* united.

His name in the first place was to be called *Wonderful;* and such was Jesus Christ. There are two respects in which this description exactly represents him. The first is that mysterious union in him, to which the Scriptures bear so clear a testimony, of the *divine* with the *human* nature. God manifest in the flesh is the "great mystery" of religion—That he by whom all things were made—who was with God and was God—should be "made in the likeness of men," and, in that likeness, be exposed to the temptations of

[a] Luke ii, 11. [b] John iii, 16. [c] See John i, 1—14; Rom. i, 3, 4; ix, 5; Phil. ii, 6, 7; Heb. ii, 14—18; 1 John iv, 2: &c.

the devil, lead a life of suffering, and finally be "crucified through weakness,"—is a wonder of which no human soul can fathom the depth, although all men may accept and apply the benefit. But, secondly, this term is peculiarly applicable to Jesus Christ, because of his miracles. When by the power of his word he made the lame to walk, the dead to live, and the storm to become a calm—he displayed himself in the character of the *Wonderful one.* "Then he arose and rebuked the wind and the sea; and there was a great calm. But the men *marvelled,* saying, *what manner of man* (or person, ποταπὸς) is *this,* that even the winds and the sea obey him?" Again, "when the devil was cast out, the dumb spake: and the multitudes *marvelled,* saying, *It was never so seen in Israel.*"[a]

Secondly, his name was to be called *Counsellor.* This declaration is amply fulfilled in the history of the offices of the Son of God. For in the first place he promulgated the purest preceptive code ever delivered to mankind, and thereby imparted *counsel,* by which, not only his immediate followers, but, through the intervention of Scripture, *their successors in all generations* might learn so to regulate their conduct, as to secure their present and eternal welfare. But further, Jesus counsels his followers *by his Spirit.* In *him* "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."[b] From him, his persecuted disciples, even when deprived of his personal presence, received "a mouth and wisdom," which their adversaries were unable to "gainsay or resist."[c] By him the Corinthian christians were "enriched in all utterance and in all knowledge."[d] "The anointing which ye have received of him," says the

[a] Matt. viii, 26, 27; ix, 33. [b] Col. ii, 3. [c] Luke xxi, 14, 15.
[d] 1 Cor. i, 5.

apostle John, "*abideth* in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but, as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."[a] Nor was this incomparable blessing restricted to the primitive church. The promise was unto them and *unto their children.*[b] The Comforter whom Jesus sends to his disciples to illuminate and guide them, abides with his church *for ever.*[c]

The third name here ascribed to the Incarnate one, is the *Mighty God.* This name, which is descriptive of omnipotence, may probably, in this passage, be fraught with an especial allusion to the character of Christ as a *victorious monarch.*[d]

But it was not only in his victory over Satan and all the enemies of the church, that Jesus Christ displayed his divinity. By his irresistible power over the elements of nature, by bursting asunder the bands of death and rising from the grave, by pouring forth on his disciples the gift of the Holy Ghost, our Saviour fully justified his claim on this glorious title of the MIGHTY GOD. Nor did his disciples refuse to acknowledge that claim. He was an object of their religious adoration, and they *called* him "GOD;"[e] "LORD and GOD,"[f] "the great God;"[g] "the true God;"[h] "God blessed for ever."[i] Thus then, that feature in the prophecy which exceeds every other in importance and singularity, is in full agreement with the historical record respecting the true Messiah.

This divine person was in the next place to be called the *Father of eternity,* from which title it is to be

[a] 1 John ii, 27. [b] Acts ii, 39. [c] John xiv, 16. [d] *Comp.* ver. 3, 4; Rev. xix, 11—16. [e] John i, 1. [f] John xx, 28. [g] Tit. ii, 13. [h] 1 John v, 20. [i] Rom. ix, 5.

inferred, *first*, that he is himself from everlasting to everlasting—and *secondly*, that to others also, he was to become the Author of a blessed immortality. And such is the account given to us in the New Testament of Jesus Christ. There we read that the Saviour of men is an eternal, immutable Being;[a] "the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last."[b] With regard to his people and followers, it is the clear and frequently repeated doctrine of the gospel, that, in consequence of *his* propitiatory sacrifice, and through faith in *Him* alone, *they* obtain everlasting life.[c] Christ has purchased for us the glorious inheritance, and now, in his gratuitous compassion, bestows it upon all those who believe in him and obey him. "My sheep," said he, "hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I GIVE unto them eternal life."[d]

But, of all the titles here employed to describe the "holy child," none is more characteristic, than that which remains to be considered—the PRINCE OF PEACE. Of the applicability of this description to Jesus of Nazareth, every Christian must be aware. He is the Prince of Peace, or "the Lord of Peace," as the apostle Paul designates him,[e] for three obvious reasons. *First*, and principally, because it is through Him, that fallen and sinful man is *reconciled* to God. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself; not imputing their trespasses unto them."[f] "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have PEACE with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ."[g] *Secondly*, because, by his

[a] Heb. i, 10—12; xiii, 8. [b] Rev. xxii, 13. [c] See John iii, 14—16, 36; xi, 25, 26, &c. &c. [d] John x, 28. [e] 2 Thess. iii, 16. [f] 2 Cor. v, 19; *comp.* Eph. ii, 16, 17; Acts, x, 36, &c. &c. [g] Rom. v, 1.

sufferings on the cross, he has for ever removed the invidious distinction between Jews and Gentiles, and brought the believers from amongst them both, into *one* fold. "For he is our PEACE, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances: for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making PEACE."[a] *Thirdly*, because Christianity is radically opposed to all bitterness, revenge, and contention. "On earth peace, good will toward men" forms one of the main principles of the empire of Christ—an empire which is defended and promoted, not by the weapons of carnal warfare, but by the law of universal love. While its subjects enjoy with one another the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," they are taught to return good for evil, to love even their enemies, and to embrace, in the arms of charity, *the whole human race*. For these several reasons, Christ is preeminently and emphatically the PRINCE OF PEACE.

Having thus unfolded the attributes of the mighty Ruler to whom this prediction relates, the prophet proceeds to declare the extent, stability, and equitable principles of his government. "Of the increase (or amplitude[4]) of his government and peace (or of his

[a] Eph. ii, 14, 15.

[4] The substantive מַרְבֶּה from רָבָה magnus *fuit* vel *factus est*, may signify either *amplitudo*, or *incrementum*. The former sense, which is adopted by Vitringa, appears preferable; קֵץ is either "an end" with reference to duration, or "a limit" with reference to space. See *Taylor's Conc.* It is somewhat remarkable, that, in the Hebrew Text, the מ in מַרְבֶּה assumes its close or final form ם; by which the Masorites denote a close or hidden mystery. This circumstance, absurd in itself, indicates that the ancient Jews understood this prophecy in a spiritual sense.

peaceable government) there shall be no end (or limit); upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom; to fix it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, henceforth and for ever."[a] It might have been supposed that this sentence would, even among the Jews, have precluded all doubt as to the relation of the whole prediction to the Messiah; for, between this passage and other allowed prophecies respecting the reign of Christ, there is, in all essential particulars, a perfect resemblance.[b] To the Christian, this evidence is amply confirmed by the words of the Angel Gabriel to Mary, respecting her son. "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end."[c]

Christ, the king of kings, being, according to the flesh, the descendant of David, and being also the *antitype* of that most favoured of Israel's monarchs, is justly described as his successor in the kingdom, or as occupying his throne. But the New Testament teaches us, that the dominion of the Messiah is of a spiritual nature—that Jesus, exalted at the right hand of the Father, and no longer seen by mortal eye, exercises a supreme authority over the church of God, and even over the universe at large.[d] His empire is therefore infinitely extensive. It is a peaceable dominion, since all who are subject to it enjoy that peace with God, and that mutual harmony, which are unknown to the votaries of this present world; and it is conducted with

[a] *Lowth's Version*, Isa. ix, 6. [b] *Comp.* Isa. xi, 1—10; Dan. vii, 13, 14, &c. [c] Luke i, 31—33. [d] Eph. i, 21—23; Col. i, 14—18.

perfect equity and justice, by Him who is constituted the judge of all flesh, and of whom it is declared that he will render to every man *according to his works.*[a] Finally, since this government is in its nature *divine,* so it is in its nature *eternal.* It can never cease, because it essentially appertains to HIM, who is "THE SAME yesterday and to-day and for ever."[b]

In conclusion, the prophet, with a noble force and simplicity, traces the whole dispensation which he has been depicting, to the source from which, in the New Testament, it is ever represented as derived, namely, the love of GOD, even the FATHER—"THE ZEAL OF JEHOVAH GOD OF HOSTS will do THIS."

On a review of the evangelical parts of the seventh, eighth, and ninth, chapters of Isaiah, we can scarcely fail to perceive, that they relate to a variety of singular, and unexpected, circumstances; and that, with respect to *every one* of these circumstances, they agree with the account given in the New Testament, of Jesus Christ. It is true that the prophecy in part relates to subjects of faith, and not of sight; as, for example, the *kingdom* of the Messiah, which is not external and apparent, but conducted by a spiritual agency over the souls of mankind. Nevertheless, the reality of this government may be traced in the history of the Church of Christ, and in the experience of all its living members, and for our present argument it suffices, that the declarations of the prophet, on this subject, correspond with the *doctrine* of the New Testament.[c]

But the chief part of the prophecy is fulfilled by a series of known *facts.* The miraculous conception of

[a] John v, 22; Matt. xxv, 31—46; 2 Cor. v, 10; Rev. ii, 23.
[b] Heb. xiii, 8. [c] See Luke i, 31—33; Matt. xxviii, 18; Eph. i, 20—23; Phil. ii, 9—11.

Jesus Christ and his birth of a virgin—his becoming to the Jews an offence over which they stumbled, and soon afterwards fell and were broken as a nation—the illumination afforded by his ministry in the very region so exactly defined by the prophet—the rapid multiplication of his disciples and their joyful and triumphant condition in the primitive age—his performance of wonderful works—his promulgation of just counsels and his instituting a religion on new and extraordinary principles of peace—are all of them circumstances of a distinguished character, plainly foretold or alluded to in the prophecy, and as plainly recorded in the history. Nor can it be reasonably denied, that, in the miraculous exertion of his *power*, our Saviour frequently presented to his followers a *practical* and *visible* evidence of his possessing that *divinity*, which forms so leading a feature in the prophetical description of his character.

On the whole, I conceive it to be indisputable, that the correspondence which subsists, between these predictions and the records of evangelical truth contained in the New Testament, is much too comprehensive and exact, to admit of being accounted for on any principle except that which the apostle has stated—"*the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*"[a] But this correspondence proves more than the inspiration of the prophet Isaiah; for, when prophecy has respect to the life, circumstances, and doctrines, of the Author of our religion, and is plainly fulfilled in *him*, it is a miracle from which we derive a proper and sufficient proof that *Christianity* is the religion of GOD.

[a] 2 Pet. i, 21.

On reviewing the contents of the present Essay, the reader will, I trust, be prepared to accede to the following propositions.

1. That, perplexed and obscure as this part of the book of Isaiah, at first sight, appears, its difficulties are capable of being satisfactorily unravelled.

2. That the commonly received interpretation of its most important parts is, by critical considerations, elucidated and *confirmed.*

3. That this section of prophecy is not, like some others, of a double character, so as to be applicable at once in a lower and higher sense, but (with little exception) consists of intermingled parts, some of which relate to temporal history, and others exclusively to evangelical truth.

4. That the agreement of the *temporal* parts of the prophecy with the history of Judah and Israel is in all points exact, and, when connected with a view of the undoubted genuineness and ascertained date of the predictions, affords an ample evidence that the prophet was inspired.

5. That an equally cogent evidence of this truth, is derived from the comparison of the evangelical parts of the prophecy, with the facts and doctrines revealed in the New Testament. And, lastly, that this comparison unfolds a standing miracle, applicable and adequate to the proof of Christianity itself.

Let it be observed, in conclusion, that the religion to which these predictions bear so explicit a testimony, is not Christianity deprived of its fundamental peculiarities and robbed of the "mystery of godliness," but that sound and orthodox system of faith which was originally built "on the foundation of the apostles and prophets," which, in every age of the church has been

professed by the great majority of Christians, and which continues to be *cherished* by all who "worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh." The *divinity* and *incarnation* of the Messiah are doctrines which form so essential a feature of this prophetic record, that, were they taken away, it would lose, at once, its singularity, its propriety, and its force. After comparing the prophecy, in *these respects*, with the declarations of Christ and his apostles, we may rest in the assurance, that Jesus, the Virgin's child, is truly himself IMMANUEL, GOD WITH US, THE MIGHTY GOD, and that, *therefore*, "to the amplitude of his government and peace" neither time nor space shall oppose a limit.

No. 17.

Christ, the Branch, is "Jehovah our righteousness."

Jer. xxiii, 5, 6.

הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה
וַהֲקִמֹתִי לְדָוִד צֶמַח צַדִּיק
וּמָלַךְ מֶלֶךְ וְהִשְׂכִּיל
וְעָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה בָּאָרֶץ׃
בְּיָמָיו תִּוָּשַׁע יְהוּדָה
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח
וְזֶה־שְּׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרְאוֹ
יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ׃

"Behold the days come, saith Jehovah,
That I will raise up, unto David, a righteous branch,
And a king shall reign and act wisely.
And shall execute judgment and righteousness in the earth.
In his days, Judah shall be saved,
And Jerusalem shall dwell in safety;
And this is his name, by which they shall call (him,)
JEHOVAH—OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."

A similar version of this passage, as far as relates to every important particular, is given in E. T., by the Vulgate and Syriac translators, by Luther, Diodati, and Michaelis.

In opposition to these and very numerous other authorities, Benjamin Blayney, a divine of the church of England, who published a new translation of Jere-

miah with notes, A.D. 1784, has proposed a novel construction of the last two lines of the passage. He throws them into one, and translates them as follows: "And this is the name whereby Jehovah shall call him, OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS." In his note on the passage, he says, "I doubt not but some persons will be offended at me for depriving them, by this translation, of a favourite argument for proving the divinity of our Saviour from the Old Testament. But I cannot help it: I have done it with no ill design, but purely because I think and am morally sure, that the text, as it stands, will not admit of any other construction. The LXX have so translated before me, in an age when there could not possibly be any bias of prejudice, either for or against the before-mentioned doctrine: a doctrine which draws its decisive proofs from the New Testament only."

That Blayney had no ill design in departing from the commonly received construction of this noble passage is very credible; and that he confidently believed himself to be warranted in so doing, is evident from his note. A little investigation will, however, (as I believe,) suffice to shew, that the grounds, on which he builds this new and *singular* interpretation of an often-quoted verse of Scripture, are wholly fallacious.

In the first place, it is not true that the LXX are his precursors in so interpreting the words of the prophet. Their version of verse 6, is as follows: Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ καὶ σωθήσεται Ἰούδας, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ κατασκηνώσει πεποιθὼς, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ὃ καλέσει αὐτὸν Κύριος, Ἰωσεδὲκ.—"In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell with confidence; and this is his name by which the Lord will call him, Josedek." It is surprising that Blayney should have failed to re-

mark, that the name Ἰωσεδὲκ is composed of the Hebrew words יְהוָה (*Jehovah*) and צֶדֶק (*tsedek*). Since this is plainly the fact, it follows, that, although the LXX have *supplied* "Jehovah" (Κύριος) as a governing nominative to the verb יִקְרָא, they have, like the generality of translators, construed the יְהוָה (*Jehovah*) of our text, as part of the name of the Righteous Branch. As far as relates therefore to that name, Blayney's version is destitute of the support of the LXX.

With respect to the *moral certainty* assumed by this writer, that the text, as it stands, will admit of no other construction than that which he proposes, abundant is the evidence by which it is disproved; for the common method of construing this passage coincides with a well known idiom of the Hebrew tongue. The grammatical point in question, lies in the verb יקראו. Blayney evidently takes it for granted, that this verb requires an expressed governing nominative; and, under this conviction, he makes use of the word "Jehovah," (the first part of the name of the Branch) in order to serve this purpose. Thus, he construes יקראו as the third person singular of the verb, followed by the pronominal affix ו, (him) and governed by יְהוָה. Now I conceive, that יקראו is the third person *plural* of the verb, and is literally to be rendered "they shall call." The nominative is not expressed; but we must of course supply, for a nominative, the Israelites, the people—those on whom the office of naming him would naturally devolve.

The simple question is, Was it customary with the Hebrews so to use this verb? That it was so, is amply proved by the following passages of the Old Testament.

Prov. xxiv, 8. "With respect to him who deviseth to do evil, לוֹ בַּעַל מְזִמּוֹת יִקְרָאוּ, they shall call him a mischievous person."

Isa. lxii, 12. וְקָרְאוּ לָהֶם עַם־הַקֹּדֶשׁ "and they shall call them the holy people."

Jer. iii, 17. "At that time, יִקְרְאוּ they shall call Jerusalem, the Throne of Jehovah."

vi, 30. כֶּסֶף נִמְאָס קָרְאוּ לָהֶם "Reprobate silver shall they call them."

Mal. i, 4. וְקָרְאוּ לָהֶם גְּבוּל רִשְׁעָה, "And they shall call them the border of wickedness."

In all these examples, the plural of the verb קָרָא, whether past or future, is without an expressed nominative; neither does the context supply one. We must in each case, understand, the *people*, or *men;* or we might render, with the French, *on appellera*, and with the Germans, *man heissen wird.* If however, like Blayney, we regard יקראו as the third person singular of the verb, with the pronominal affix, we shall still have no grammatical difficulty in our way; for this verb is frequently used indefinitely, in the singular as well as in the plural, as in the following examples, amongst many others.

Gen. xi, 9. עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמָהּ בָּבֶל "Therefore is the name of it called (or rather one calls the name of it) Babel."

Isa. lxi, 3. וְקֹרָא לָהֶם אֵילֵי הַצֶּדֶק "And they shall be called, (or one shall call them) trees of righteousness.[a]

It appears, therefore, that the two reasons assigned by this writer, for his new version of this passage—namely, the example of the LXX, and a necessity arising from the rules of Hebrew construction—are both of them purely imaginary. Had it been true, that construction and context required or even permitted us to render the word "Jehovah" in our text, as the nominative to the verb יִקָּרֵא, there is no doubt, that

[a] See also Isa. lxii, 2, and the examples quoted in p. 314.

such an interpretation would have found a place among the Jews themselves, who are ever ready to weaken the testimony of their own Scriptures to the Divinity of their Messiah. This however does not appear to be the case. On the contrary, with the exception of Blayney himself, I have been unable to discover a single authority, Jewish or Christian, ancient or modern, for here construing *Jehovah*, otherwise than as connected with *Tsidkenu* or *Tsedek*, and as constituting, together with that term, the name of the Branch.

This general consent, may be considered to rest on the following plain and substantial grounds.

First, such a construction of the passage exactly accords, as appears from the quotations already made, with numerous other examples in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Secondly, the metre of the Hebrew text requires this arrangement of the prophet's words, which form part of a poetical effusion, and, like the generality of Hebrew verses, fall into short responsive lines. This will appear in an English version, almost as clearly, as in the original Hebrew:—

In his days Judah shall be saved,
And Jerusalem shall dwell in safety;
And this is his name, by which they shall call (him),
Jehovah—Our Righteousness."

By throwing the two last lines into one, Blayney has destroyed this obvious rhythm.

Thirdly, the incorporation, in a name, of the term Jehovah, is characteristic of the style of the ancient Hebrews. Thus we read, "Abraham called the name of the place, Jehovah-jireh:"[a] "Moses called the name of the altar, Jehovah-nissi:"[b] "Gideon built an altar

[a] Gen. xxii, 14. [b] Exod. xvii, 15.

and called it, Jehovah-shalom:"[a] "The name of the city shall be Jehovah-shammah."[b] In like manner the contracted form *Jah*, for Jehovah, and *El* signifying God, are both of frequent occurrence in the composition of Hebrew names.

Fourthly, Names, in Hebrew, are generally significant, either of the real or supposed character of the persons who bear them, or, at any rate, of some circumstance connected with their history. Now *Tsidkenu*, taken by itself, is evidently a *fragment*; and tells but the half of that story, which the addition of the term *Jehovah* illuminates and completes.

Lastly, the notion that *Jehovah* called the name of the branch, "our righteousness," thus classing himself with his creature man, is abhorrent from sound sense and from the plain dictates of truth. This remark is confirmed by the version of the LXX, who *supply* "Jehovah" as the governing nominative to the verb; for it appears to have been for the purpose of avoiding this obvious absurdity, that they have deprived the name of the Branch of its last clause (the pronominal affix meaning *our*) and have thus converted Jehovah-Tsidkenu into Josedek.

On the whole, I believe, it may on critical grounds be considered *unquestionable*, that, according to the declaration of this prophecy, the name by which the Israelites were to call this offspring from the family of David was "Jehovah our righteousness."

This point being (as I trust) a settled one, two questions remain to be considered: *first*, whether this prophecy relates to the Messiah; and *secondly*, whether, when considered as relating to him, it affords a sound evidence of his deity. On the former of these ques-

[a] Jud. vi, 24. [b] Ezek. xlviii, 35.

tions, there happily exists a great uniformity of sentiment among both Jews and Christians. Jonathan Ben Uzziel, in his Targum on the passage, expressly interprets it of the Messiah—a circumstance which may be regarded as indicating the opinion of the Jews on the subject, at the Christian era. The example of Jonathan in this respect is followed by Kimchi, Ben Melech, Jarchi, and the Talmudists,[a] also by Christian commentators with little or no exception. Even Grotius, who, in pursuance of his usual method of interpreting evangelical prophecy, applies this prediction to Zerubbabel, allows that the character here pointed out is a *figure* of the Messiah.[b]

The correctness of that almost unanimous judgment which assigns this prophecy to the Messiah, is amply confirmed by the internal evidence of the passage, as compared with other acknowledged prophecies respecting him. For, in the first place, the Messiah is here called the *Branch*—a name applied to him, in four other passages of Scripture;[1] and secondly, his office and character are delineated in this prophecy with remarkable clearness. Were we required to describe the Messiah as he was expected by the ancient Jews, and as he is represented in the general strain of Hebrew prophecy, how could we express ourselves with greater point and precision, than by saying that he was to be a descendant of David—a righteous offspring from a royal race—a king who should reign with wisdom—execute judgment and righteousness in the earth—save his people—and bring them into a condition of peaceful secu-

[a] Vid. *Gill* in loc. [b] Vid. *Com.* in loc.

1 Vid. Isa. iv, 2; xi, 1; Zech. iii, 8; vi, 12. In all these passages except Isa. xi, 1, the word rendered branch is the same as in Jer. xxiii, 5—namely צֶמַח. In Isa. xi, 1, it is נֵצֶר which has the same meaning.

rity? No wonder that the Jew who reads this prophecy in its outward and literal sense, and the Christian who understands its spiritual application, should unite in recognizing in it, a clear description of *the Christ.*

It appears then, that we are fully justified in concluding that the Messiah is the Person, whose name the people were to call "Jehovah—our righteousness;" and since the present argument is addressed to those only who believe that Jesus is the Messiah, I may now take it for granted that *this* is the name of *Jesus.* Does then the declaration contained in this prophecy, respecting the name of our blessed Redeemer, afford a well grounded evidence of his deity?

Were we to abide by the decision of Jonathan the Targumist and of the Jews who follow him, we should be compelled to answer this question in the negative. The Targum of the passage may be rendered as follows: "Behold the days come, saith Jehovah, that I will raise up unto David, the MESSIAH of the righteous, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall perform true judgment and justice in the earth. In his days, they of the house of Judah shall be delivered, and Israel shall dwell in confidence, and this is the name by which they shall call him—'Righteous things shall be done for us in his days from the presence of Jehovah.' On the same principle, R. Jarchi thus explains the name Jehovah-Tsidkenu, "Jehovah will justify us in the days of that king Messiah."[a]

This interpretation, which is evidently awkward and circuitous, appears to be grounded on the notion, that Jehovah-Tsidkenu was to be, actually, the *proper name* of the Messiah. In the formation of proper names, the Hebrew language is extremely versatile.

[a] In loc.

The general principle of their significancy being always kept in view, almost every combination of words containing allusions to the situation or history (whether real or imaginary) of the place or person named, seems to be allowable for this purpose. Accordingly we find that the name is sometimes *directly descriptive* of such place or person, as in the case of Kirjath-jearim, "the city of woods;" Abram, "the exalted father;" Obadiah, "the servant of Jehovah," and Melchizedek, "the king of righteousness;" whereas, at other times, it is indicative *only of collateral and connected circumstances.* Thus Ichabod was so named because in his day it was said, "where is glory?" Jerubbaal, because "Baal would plead" against him; and Mahar-shalal-hash-baz, because the Israelites were to "go quickly to the spoil, and to hasten to the prey." Were it true, therefore, that Jehovah-Tsidkenu is here introduced as a mere proper name of the Messiah, it might possibly be intended to indicate no more than what the Jews suppose; namely, that during his days would be displayed the righteousness of Jehovah. In the same manner the altar which Moses built was named Jehovah-nissi, because the Lord was his standard in battle.

But when we turn to the New Testament, which contains the historical account of the fulfilment of this prophecy, we find that no such proper name, as Jehovah-Tsidkenu, was given to the true Messiah. Doctrinal descriptions accordant with the *meaning* of these terms, are indeed frequently applied to him by the evangelists and apostles; but his proper name was *Jesus*, and *Jesus* only. Whatever therefore may be the opinion of the Jew, the Christian must conclude, that the prophet is not here reciting the *proper name* of the Righteous Branch, but only describing, under

the figure of a name, and in a proverbial and emphatic manner, his actual nature, character, and office. That this method of personal description, was extremely familiar to the ancient Hebrews, has already been remarked, in explanation of Isaiah vii, 14. To the examples there given of its application, may now be added the following: "Jehovah whose *name* is *jealous*."[a] "*Proud and haughty scorner* is his *name*."[b] "Jehovah called thy *name*, a *green olive tree*."[c] "Which art *named, Chief of the nations*."[d] "Jerusalem shall be *called, A City of Truth*."[e] In the preceding essay, it has been remarked, that the "*name*" of Christ is said, in the Revelation, to be "King of kings and Lord of lords." This declaration is exactly equivalent to another in the same book, that "He *is* Lord of lords and King of kings."[f] Above all, there is a complete conformity, both of style and sentiment, between the passage now before us, and Isa. ix, 6. "For unto us a child is born; unto us a son is given....and his *name* shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father and the Prince of peace."

That the name, Jehovah-Tsidkenu, is intended to point out the nature and character of the Messiah *himself*, is strongly confirmed by the manner in which these terms, as thus interpreted, fall in with the syntax and sense of the whole passage, and with the obvious bearing of the context. A branch was to be raised up in the family of David. His character is represented by the term *righteous*. He was to exercise judgment and *righteousness* in the earth: and he was to display this righteousness, *on behalf of his people Israel*, of whom he was to become the Prince and the

[a] Exod. xxxiv, 14. [b] Prov. xxi, 24. [c] Jer. xi, 16. [d] Amos vi, 1. [e] Zech. viii, 3. [f] *Comp.* Rev. xvii, 14, with xix, 16.

Saviour. No wonder, therefore, that they should emphatically acknowledge him to be *their* righteousness. But the terms *Jehovah* and *our righteousness*, of which the name of the Branch is composed, are placed in apposition to each other, and must both be applied to the same person. He who is "Jehovah" is also "our righteousness," and *vice versa*. If then, the force of context leads us to conclude, that it was the Messiah himself whom his people were to call *Our Righteousness*, it is unquestionably He also, whom they were to call *Jehovah*.

On the whole, then, it appears,

That the construction of this verse, proposed by Blayney,—a construction which detaches "Jehovah" from the name of the Branch,—is neither justified by the example of the LXX, nor required by the rules of Hebrew grammar.

That, on the contrary, the usually received construction of the passage agrees with an idiom of frequent occurrence in the Hebrew Scriptures, and, by various critical considerations, is proved to be correct.

That, were Jehovah-Tsidkenu the *proper name* of the Messiah, it might possibly admit of that circuitous explanation, which has been adopted by the Jews; but that, on the ground of its not being his proper name, (and that it was not so, we learn from the New Testament,) we must conclude, that it is an emphatic description of his person and character.

That this method of interpretation is abundantly justified by the phraseology of the Hebrews, as appears from numerous other passages of Scripture.

Lastly, that in the present instance, its correctness is confirmed by the evidence of the context.

So far our argument has been conducted on purely

critical principles, and these, alone, have fairly led us to the conclusion, that the prophet here represents the Messiah, under the name and character of Jehovah. Bnt there are theological considerations, of a weighty and important nature, derived from the doctrines of the New Testament, which throw a yet stronger light on the whole subject; and by which, as it appears to me, the truth of this conclusion is for ever established.

In the Messiah, the seed of Abraham, "all the nations of the earth were to be blessed." Not only on behalf of the believing Israelites, but on that of the whole Israel of God—the children of Abraham by faith—was Christ to display his great salvation. Believers of every name and nation, are to call him "Jehovah *our* Righteousness;" and this, I doubt not, is, in point of extent and comprehension, the true scope of this memorable prophecy. I therefore address my argument to all who acknowledge the authority of the New Testament, when I remark, that, while the abstract attribute of righteousness is applied in Scripture, without distinction, to the Father and to the Son, to be 'OUR righteousness' is the characteristic and distinguishing office of the latter,—of Him, who "was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification."[a] The evidence, by which this assertion is supported, is familiar to the memory, and dear to the heart, of every true Christian. Jesus Christ is made UNTO US of God, "wisdom, and *righteousness*, and sanctification, and redemption."[b] "By him all that believe are *justified* from all things, from which (they) could not be justified by the law of Moses."[c] "Christ is the end of the law for *righteousness* to every one that believeth."[d] "God was *in Christ*, reconciling the world unto himself, not

[a] Rom. iv, 25. [b] 1Cor. i, 30. [c] Acts xiii, 39. [d] Rom. x, 4.

imputing their trespasses unto them ..... for he hath made *Him* to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made *the righteousness of God in Him.*"[a] Lastly, in a passage of the prophecies of Isaiah, which the apostle Paul has twice applied to Jesus Christ, JEHOVAH says, "I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, That unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear (or confess). Surely shall one say, In JEHOVAH have I *righteousness* and strength ..... in JEHOVAH shall all the seed of Israel be *justified* and shall glory."[b]

We have already remarked, that, in the name of the Branch, the terms "Jehovah" and "our righteousness," are placed in apposition, and cannot be separated. He who is thus named "our righteousness," is also named "Jehovah." So also, the two *doctrines*, that Jesus Christ is our righteousness, and that he is JEHOVAH, correspond with a perfect aptitude, and are bound together by an indissoluble tie. The Christian's hope of deliverance from eternal death is founded on the glorious doctrine, that a ransom has been offered for his soul, by a Saviour of *infinite dignity and power:* and he anticipates the boon of everlasting felicity, not as the reward of his own polluted works, but as the just and necessary consequence of a righteousness, imputed to the believer—the *perfect* righteousness of Him, who is not only MAN but GOD.

I must now briefly enter my protest against the assertion of Blayney, that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ draws its decisive proofs from the New Testament *only*. Until reasons are adduced to the

[a] 2 Cor. v, 19—21. [b] Isa. xlv, 23—25; *comp.* Rom. xiv, 11; Phil, ii, 10, 11.

contrary, far stronger than any which he has urged, I shall always believe, that decisive proofs of that doctrine are contained in those evangelical prophecies, which have formed the subject of this and the preceding essay.[2]

[2] The prophecy which we have now been considering, is, with some variation of terms, repeated in Chap. xxxiii, 15, 16. "In those days, and at that time, will I cause the Branch of Righteousness to grow up unto David; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely: and this [is the name] wherewith SHE shall be called, the LORD our Righteousness." E. T. The original of the last clause of this passage is וְזֶה אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא־לָהּ יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ׃

If we adopt this version of the passage, Jehovah-Tsidkenu must here be regarded as the name of the church—a circumstance by no means incapable of explanation; for no doctrine is more clearly set forth in Scripture than the union of Christ with his church. He is the *head*, and the church is his *body*. "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ:" 1 Cor. xii, 12. "As thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one *in us*..... I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect *in one*:" John xvii, 21—23. Husbands and wives are one flesh and have one name, and under the figure of marriage, Christ has the name of Israel, i. e. of the church, (Isa. xlix, 3,) and the church may also have the name of Christ; as the Shulamite was named after Solomon: Cant. vi, 13; vid. *Gill.* in loc. That divine attribute of Christ which is peculiarly set forth in this name of Jehovah-Tsidkenu—i. e. his perfect righteousness—is *imputed* to the church. The glory of it is *reflected* on her. Vid. *Gill*, *Calvin*, and *Lowth*, in loc.

Although these considerations are clearly founded in truth, it ought to be remarked, that the Hebrew words above cited may, with great propriety, be otherwise rendered, as follows: "And *He* (וְזֶה) who shall call her (i. e. who shall invite her to his favour, or impart to her, her name and character) is Jehovah our righteousness; i. e. "Christ, the Saviour." So *R. Joseph Kimchi*, *Pagninus*, *Montanus*, *Vatablus*, *Huetius*, *Bishop Pearson*, and others.

It seems, however, *still more probable* that the personal pronoun הִוא is, as Blayney asserts, the masculine in the Chaldaic form, which is of frequent occurrence in the Hebrew Scriptures. If so, we may follow the example of the Vulgate and Syriac translators, in rendering this clause as the same in point of meaning with the parallel passage in xxiii, 6. "And this is the name, whereby HE shall be called (or literally, which one shall call him) Jehovah our Righteousness."

No. 18.

On the various readings of 1 Tim. iii, 16.

It is a circumstance, for which the friends of sound Christian doctrine ought to be very thankful, that the genuineness and accuracy of those texts of Scripture which declare the divinity of our Saviour, are, for the most part, so clearly ascertained, as to admit of no reasonable dispute. This remark applies to the exordium of the Gospel of John, in which that doctrine is systematically unfolded. It also applies to John viii, 58; x, 30; xx, 28; Rom. ix, 5; Eph. v, 5; Tit. ii, 13; Heb. i, 8; 1 John v, 20; passages which are individually and collectively decisive on the subject. Such being the state of the case, it is wholly unnecessary, in an argument for the divinity of Christ, to insist on any passage of Scripture, of which the reading, as it regards that doctrine, is justly liable to dispute.

While, for this reason, I should, in such an argument, be prepared to omit the citation of 1 Tim. iii, 16, as a direct proof of the doctrine, it cannot be a question of indifference to the biblical student, whether the validity of its testimony to that great mystery of godliness—*God manifest in the flesh*—is, or is not, supported on the balance of ancient authorities. The following statement will, I trust, assist the reader in forming his own decision on this controverted subject.

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

"And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness (i. e. of the true religion): God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." *Eng. Trans.*

"Et manifeste magnum est pietatis mysterium: qui manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu, &c."[a]

"Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne, justificatum est in spiritu, &c." *Vulg.*

These versions represent, respectively, three different readings of the Greek text, viz. Θεὸς (ἐφανερώθη), ὃς (ἐφανερώθη), and ὃ (ἐφανερώθη).

The reading, ὃ *quod*, is supported by the two Syriac, the Erpenian Arabic, the Ethiopic, and probably by the Coptic, Sahidic, and Armenian, versions. It is also the reading of the Vulgate, and *primâ manu* of the Clermont uncial MS. (the D of Griesbach). That this reading moreover was in general use in the western church, after the Council of Nice, we have many proofs in the quotations made of the passage by numerous Latin fathers.

Griesbach, however, rejects this reading, and that he has, on this point, formed a correct judgment, may be safely concluded, for the following reasons.

1st. There is an almost total absence of Greek authority in its favour. The only Greek writers who have thus quoted the passage, are Gelasius of Cyzicum, whose evidence will hereafter be referred to, and the unknown writer of a sermon on the incarnation, bound

[a] *Theodor. Mopsuest. apud Mansii Collect. Conc.* tom. ix, p. 221.

up with the works of Chrysostom.[a] With respect to the Clermont MS. (which alone of all collated MSS. presents this reading) its evidence is identical with that of the Vulgate. This manuscript presents the Greek and Latin in parallel columns, and the Greek is *altered* from the received text, so as to produce a literal agreement with the Latin. Of these palpable corruptions in the Clermont MS. Wetstein has adduced numerous examples.[b] There is moreover to be observed in this MS. the *secunda manus* of a corrector, who has taken the pains to cancel these alterations. Accordingly in 1 Tim. iii, 16, he has overwritten ὅ with Θεὸς.

2ndly. No Latin father, prior to the date of the Council of Nice, (A. D. 325) has quoted the passage; and the evidence of those of this class who have cited it, since that period, is much weakened by the consideration, that they probably derived it from the Latin version only, or copied it one from another. The *currency* of the passage, among some of the later Latin fathers, may perhaps be ascribed to the support which, when thus read, it appears to give to the doctrine of transubstantiation. These writers (after the Vulgate), for the Greek μυστήριον, have the word *sacramentum*.

3rdly. If we read ὅ, we must understand μυστήριον as a personal description of Jesus Christ. Now, although the incarnation of our Lord is a mystery, and "without controversy" a great one, it is extremely unlike the style, as well as foreign from the doctrine, of the apostle, so to denominate the incarnate Son himself.

Lastly, there appears much more probability, as Griesbach has observed, of the formation of ὅ from ὅς, than of that of ὅς from ὅ. The construction of the passage with ὅς is difficult and unusual—but with ὅ it

[a] Vide Ed. Ben. tom. viii, pars 2, p. 214. [b] *Proleg.* tom. ii, p. 5.

is natural and familiar. A transcriber, not prone to much reflection, with the neuter noun μυστήριον before him, would scarcely think of altering the immediately succeeding relative from ὅ into ὅς; but it is highly probable that he would make the relative agree with its apparent antecedent, by changing ὅς into ὅ.

On the whole then, I believe we may safely conclude that ὅ is an erroneous reading, that it is derived from ὅς, and that the question truly lies between ὅς and Θεὸς. In his first edition of the Greek Testament, Griesbach retained Θεὸς in his text, but in his second, he has excluded it, and has substituted ὅς* in its room. Those who accede to this alteration will, probably, approve of the translation of Theodore of Mopsuesta.—"Qui manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu," or that of U. N. V. "He who was manifested in the flesh, was justified by the spirit, &c." for, although the use of ὅς for "*he who*" (especially without any relieving particle, such as γὲ or γὰρ,) is harsh and infrequent, yet it must be allowed, that some similar instances are found in other parts of the apostle's writings. See for example, Rom. xv, 21. Οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὄψονται· καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασι, συνήσουσι. "*They to whom* he was not spoken of shall see, and *they who* have not heard shall understand."[a] On the other hand, if we read Θεὸς, we can make no objection to the common English version of the passage; for its construction is, in that case, clear and unquestionable.

The formation of the reading ὅς from Θεὸς appears, on the whole, to be considerably more probable, than that of Θεὸς from ὅς. In the more ancient MSS. of the Greek Text, Θεὸς is written, in a contracted form, $\overline{\Theta C}$, and, in case of the vanishing away of the distin-

* See also 1 Cor. x, 20; 2 Cor. xi, 17.

guishing marks, or of their not being noticed by some careless transcriber, this word would of course degenerate into ΟC. On the contrary, the change of ΟC into $\overline{\Theta C}$ can be accounted for, only on the supposition of a more extraordinary and unlikely circumstance; namely, that these marks were intentionally, and perhaps *fraudulently* added.

While, on this ground, the received reading Θεὸς may fairly lay claim to a probability, *a priori*, superior to that of the reading ὃς, yet, since neither of them is precluded by the rules of construction, and either might, *without much difficulty*, have been derived from the other, we cannot do better, than confine our attention to the simple question,—which of these readings is the better supported by authority? In order to settle this question, we may, in the first place, examine the evidences adduced by Griesbach, in support of his reading ὃς: they consist of MSS., versions, and fathers, as follows.

I. MSS. "Codices A, C, F, G, 17, 73," says Griesbach, "legunt ὃς." A, represents the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint version of the O. T. and of the Greek Testament, presented by Cyril Lucar, (Patriarch, first of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople,) to Charles I, king of England, and now deposited in the British Museum. C, is the Regius MS. of the Greek Testament, in the King's library at Paris, otherwise called the Ephrem MS., being overwritten with the works of that Syriac father. A, in Paul's epistles, and C, throughout the New Testament, are considered by Griesbach as belonging to the *recensio Alexandrina*, i. e. as presenting that text of the New Testament, which was commonly used in the early Alexandrian Church, and of which, a vast number of readings are supposed to be preserved in

the works of Origen. This is also said to be the case, with No. 17, the Colbert MS. written in small letters. Here it may be observed, that the MSS. written in small letters, are none of them ascribed, by the learned, to a date anterior to the tenth century; whereas, those in uncial characters, especially the Alexandrine (A,) the Vatican (B,) and the Ephrem (C,) are considered to be some hundred years older. F, an uncial MS. called the Augian, is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and G, the Boernerian, which is written in large, but not uncial characters, and is said to be, in other respects, an exact copy of F, is in the Royal library of Dresden, and has been published by Matthæi. These two MSS. are described by Griesbach as belonging to the *recensio occidentalis*,—their readings being generally in accordance with those of the Latin church. The few remaining uncial MSS. of Paul's epistles (with the exception of D, which *primâ manu* reads ὅ, and I, the Passionean MS. at Rome, which has not been duly examined,) are defective in this passage.

Now if the reader imagines that in these six MSS. Griesbach has six distinct and undoubted authorities for the reading ὃς, he will find himself, on further investigation, completely mistaken. To begin with F and G, since G is only the copy of F, (as Wetstein expressly testifies) these two MSS. can be considered as forming only one authority; and that authority is greatly weakened by their extreme faultiness. Thus, in this very chapter of the first epistle to Timothy, G, for προσέχοντας has προσέχοντες;[a] for ἀνέγκλητοι ὄντες, ἀνεγκλητοιον ἔχοντες,[b] for ἐλπίζων, ἐλπείζω,[c] &c. &c. Such as they are, however, F and G present a *doubtful* reading

[a] 1 Tim. iii, 8. [b] ver. 10. [c] ver. 14.

of 1 Tim. iii, 16. That of G, I observe to be ΘC, and I have in vain endeavoured to ascertain, by comparison with other passages in the MS. what is the true import of the sloping line above the letters. It is of more importance, however, to ascertain the reading of F, from which that of G is copied. This, as I am informed, is $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$, the mark over the letters being almost horizontal, and nearly the same as other marks of contraction in the same MS. Accordingly both Berriman and Wetstein quote the reading of F as being $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$. On the whole, it may be presumed that this line denotes contraction, and therefore that the central mark in the Θ has either faded away, or was omitted by the copier; and in either case, this MS. is an authority, not for ὃς, but for Θεὸς. "Nec cuiquam," says Griesbach himself, respecting a similar case in another MS., "qui superiorem lineam *vel solam* conspexerit, ullum superesse poterat dubium, extare hic aliquod scribendi compendium, idemque legendum Θεὸς."[a]

Thus unsubstantial is the support which Griesbach derives in favour of his reading ὃς, from the Augian and Boernerian MSS., and still more infirm is the ground on which he stands, respecting the Alexandrian and Ephrem MSS., the readings of which, in this passage, have been the subject of much acute and curious disputation.

A, in its present state, presents the reading $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$ (i. e. Θεὸς); but the letters are now almost vanished, and little is perceptible, as Woide informs us, besides the line denoting contraction, and the central point in the Theta, which have unquestionably been either *formed* or *renewed* by some rash corrector, at a date more modern than that of the original MS.[b] Griesbach fol-

[a] *Symb. Crit.* [b] *Nov. Test. ex Cod. Alex. Præf.* xxx.

lows Wetstein in concluding that the distinguishing lines are altogether spurious, and that the true reading of the MS. is ΟC. But we are in possession of testimony respecting the state of this passage in the MS. more than a hundred years ago, which satisfactorily leads, as it appears to me, to an opposite conclusion. Mill, whose New Testament was published towards the close of the seventeenth century, informs us, that on a careful inspection of the MS. he discovered the traces—"vestigia satis certa"—of the original central line of the Theta. Wotton, in his edition of Clemens Rom. A. D. 1718, declares that an accurate inspection of the MS. proved its original reading to be Θεὸς. John Croyk of Cambridge examined the MS. in A. D. 1716, and assured Berriman that the *ancient* line in the Theta was then *distinctly* visible; and Berriman, (A. D. 1740) informs us, that *by glasses,* he was enabled to distinguish the same original line.[3] Lastly, Wetstein himself, who examined the MS. in the year 1747, acknowledges, that by the aid of glasses, he perceived the appearance of such a line attached to the left side of the Θ:[a] and, although he persuaded himself that this appearance was owing to the stroke of an Є, on the other side of the leaf, he was on this point clearly mistaken; for Woide, who had constant access to the manuscript, assures us, that the position of the Є

[a] *In Proleg.* tom. i, p. 22.

[3] Berriman observed the traces of the line attached to both sides of the circle of the theta. That these fragments of the original line were visible when the emendator performed his work, may be concluded from his having inserted only a very short stroke in the centre of the Θ, as if with the intention of preserving, untouched, the two remains of the ancient line, and of filling up the space between them. The *theta* in the Alexandrine MS. is universally written, not Ꝋ but Θ. Vid. *Crit. Diss.* on 1 Tim, iii, 16, p. 153, *et seqq.*

in question rendered such an effect *impossible*. Now, I cannot but think, that the evidence thus stated is sufficient to render it nearly unquestionable, that the original reading of A, was not ΟC, but $\overline{\Theta C}$.

The case of the Ephrem MS. (C) is nearly similar. In that MS., which is very much faded, the central line of the Theta has completely disappeared—a circumstance by no means surprising; for on Θ in the following word ἐφανερώθη, time has inflicted the *very same* injury. C, therefore, in its present condition, has $\overline{\text{OC}}$. It is on all hands allowed, that if the line above the word is genuine, the true reading of the MS. is Θεὸς; but here is a source of much disputation. Wetstein and Griesbach ascribe this line, to the corrector of the MS.—Woide, Parquoi, and others, to its author. The two former assert, that it is distinguished *crassiori et imperitiori ductu*, from the elegant writing generally to be observed in the MS.; the two latter deny this fact, and assure us more particularly, that it is of the same degree of *paleness* as the rest of the manuscript. There are two circumstances which confirm the judgment of Woide and Parquoi, respecting the genuineness of this important line. The first is, that there are to be perceived under the $\overline{\text{OC}}$, two little musical notes, (˜˜) which evidently denote that it is a word of two syllables.[4] The second is the *absence* of the central mark in the Theta. Had a corrector formed the line above the Θ, with a view of changing ὃς into Θεὸς, it is plain that he would also have inserted the central mark. The absence of that mark, therefore, affords a strong presumption, either that the upper

4 Griesbach argues, that these musical marks might be added at a date more modern than that of the original MS. But this appears to be a gratuitous assumption.

line was not the work of a corrector at all, or else, that, when he formed it, the central line of the Theta was still existing and visible. For these reasons I cannot help concluding, that the true reading of C is Θεὸς.

On the review, then, of this branch of Griesbach's evidences, it appears, that G as a distinct authority, is null and void—and that F, A, and C, are not merely very questionable supporters of the reading ὃς, but may be fairly cited as authorities for Θεὸς. Thus there remain as clear evidences for ὃς, only two small-letter manuscripts, 17 and 73. These two are of little weight when opposed to a *vast multitude* of similar and equivalent authorities for Θεὸς.

Secondly, with respect to *versions*, Griesbach states, that the Coptic, Sahidic, with the margin of the Philoxenian Syr. read ὃς, *qui*; and that the two Syriac, the Erpenian Arabic, the Ethiopic, and the Armenian, read either ὃς, *qui*, or ὅ, *quod*.

This statement, as Dr. Lawrence has observed, is far from accurate. The two Syriac, the Erpenian Arabic, and the Ethiopic versions, clearly read, not ὃς, *qui*, but ὅ, *quod*; for in all these versions, the relative (like *quod* in the Vulgate) is applied to the word corresponding with μυστήριον, and *connects it with the following part of the sentence*.[5]

The same construction is to be observed in the Armenian,[6] and also, in the Coptic and Sahidic versions. Although, therefore, in the first, there is no distinction of genders, and in the two last, the relative pronoun

[5] In the Syriac Peshito, (the most ancient of these versions) the reading ὅ, quod, is yet more evidently ascertained by the repetition of the copulative before each of the verbs, after "was manifested" —"Great is this mystery which was manifested in the flesh, *and* which was justified by the Spirit, *and* which was seen of angels, &c."

[6] Dr. Lawrence informs us, that according to one interpretation of the Armenian version, it seems to support the reading Θεὸς.

is *masculine* (agreeing with a *masculine* noun which answers to μυστήριον) it is plain that these versions also read ὅ, and not ὃς.

Neither is the case altered in the *margin* of the Philoxenian Syriac version, where the relative ܕ is preceded by the masculine personal pronoun ܗܘ, for ܕ ܗܘ is employed in this version, as a simple relative, in preference to ܕ alone, and is to be rendered by *qui* or *quod*, according as the antecedent (in Latin) is masculine or neuter; for in the Syriac, there is no neuter gender. In the present instance, the Latin antecedent *mysterium* being neuter, ܕ ܗܘ is to be rendered *quod*, and must be regarded as representing the Greek ὅ.* Thus is the reading, adopted by Griesbach, left without the support of a single ancient version. Since, however, the versions which have now been considered, prove that ὅ was an ancient reading in the church, and since it is most probable, that ὅ originated in ὃς, they afford a presumptive evidence, that some ancient authorities, with which we are not now acquainted, supported the latter reading.

Amongst the fathers, Griesbach quotes as authorities for ὃς, Hieronymus, (A. D. 390) Epiphanius, (A. D. 390) Theodore of Mopsuesta, (A. D. cir. 400) Cyril of Alexandria, (A. D. 412) and Gelasius of Cyzicum (A. D. 476). This list requires to be briefly examined.

Jerom, in his commentary on Isa. liii, has used the expressions "*Qui apparuit in carne, justificatus est in spiritu.*" He has used them however, in the course of his own reasoning, without any citation of the apostle Paul; and since Jerom was the author or emenda-

* See *White's version and note*, in loc. and *Lawrence's remarks on Griesbach's classification of MSS. of G. T.* Oxford, 1814, p. 77—82.

tor of the Vulgate, it cannot be supposed that he read either ὃς or Θεὸς, but only ὅ, *quod*.

Epiphanius, in his book against heretics, when engaged in proving the divinity of the Holy Spirit, writes as follows: Ἆρα Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ᾧ ἐψεύσαντο οἱ τοῦ τιμήματος τοῦ χωρίου νοσφισάμενοι, ἢ ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι· τούτου μεῖζον οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.[a] "The Holy Spirit is God of God, to whom they lied who kept back of the price of the field; and again, (He) who was manifested in the flesh, was justified by the Spirit. Than this, I can say nothing greater." That Jesus Christ, himself God, was nevertheless, in his human character, justified by the Spirit, was the greatest thing that could be said, in proof of the divine dignity of the Spirit. It is plain that the argument of Epiphanius includes the notion of the divinity of Christ, and that it would be much clearer, were we here to read Θεὸς instead of ὃς. It is also to be observed, that in another passage of his works, where he repeats the argument verbatim, ὃς is omitted, and ἐφανερώθη is quoted without any governing nominative.[b] These considerations weaken, though they do not destroy, the testimony of Epiphanius in favor of the reading ὃς.

I have already quoted Theodore of Mopsuesta, who plainly read ὃς.

Cyril, on whose testimony, as of *Alexandrine* authority, Griesbach chiefly relies, is claimed as a supporter both of ὃς and of Θεὸς. In his address to the Emp. Theodosius *de fide*, he twice speaks of the great mystery of godliness, and says, that this mystery was no other than Christ, or the Word himself, from God the Father, who was manifested in the flesh—ὃς ἐφανερώθη

[a] *Contra Hær.* 74, 6. [b] *Anchoratus*, c. 69.

ἐν σαρκὶ.[a] Here there is no direct quotation of 1 Tim. iii, 16, and the ὃς of Cyril is nothing more than the relative agreeing with the preceding substantive used by himself—in the one case Χριστὸς, in the other Λόγος. In his explanation of the Anathemas, he clearly quotes 1 Tim. iii, 16, and, according to the Ed. of Paris, A.D. 1638, with the reading Θεὸς; but Wetstein (after the Benedictine editors) assures us that the best MSS. of Cyril here support the reading ὃς. This may be considered as Griesbach's strongest ground for citing Cyril as an authority for that reading; especially since Photius and Œcumenius, when referring to this passage in Cyril, mention his having quoted the words of the apostle as ὃς ἐφανερώθη, &c.[b] In two other passages of the works of Cyril, where he directly cites 1 Tim. iii, 16, both times with Θεὸς, and without any variation in the manuscripts, Griesbach is of opinion that the course of his argument supplies an internal evidence of his having really read and quoted the apostle's words as ὃς ἐφανερώθη, &c. The following version of the two passages will enable the reader to form his own conclusion on this subject. To me it does not appear that there is any thing in the father's argument, which countervails the external evidence afforded by his text, that he read Θεὸς.

The passages in question are in his treatise *De Recta Fide.* In the first, he is proving by citations from Scripture, "Quod fides in Christum sit tanquam *in Deum.*" "Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh, &c. Who was he that was manifest in the flesh? Most assuredly, the Word from God the Father—for on this principle the *mystery* of godliness is great. *God* was

[a] Sec. 7, 8. [b] *Photii MS.* and *Œcum.* in loc. 1 *Tim.*

manifest in the flesh; was seen of angels when he ascended into heaven; was preached among the Gentiles by the holy apostles; was believed on in the world. And we do not say that he was merely a man amongst us, but as God in the flesh, who was born according to our nature. And he was taken up into glory that he might hear God the Father saying, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool."[7] The second passage also relates to the divinity of Christ. After again quoting 1 Tim. iii, 16, he argues as follows: "If the Word, being *God*, may be said to have become man, without laying aside his deity—always continuing in that nature which he originally possessed—then indeed great, without controversy great, is the mystery of godliness. But if Christ is considered a common man, &c.....then how was he *manifested* in the flesh? Is it not obvious that every man is in the flesh and could not otherwise be seen?"[8] The point on which Griesbach insists in relation to these passages is this—that their author grounds his argument from 1 Tim. iii, 16, for the divinity of Christ, rather on the force of the words *μυστήριον* and *ἐφανερώθη* than on that of the word Θεὸς. That there is some weight in this remark must be al-

[7] Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη, κ. τ. λ. Τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς; ἢ δῆλον, ὅτι πάντητε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος; οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, ὤφθη δὲ ἀγγέλοις, ἀναβαίνων εἰς οὐρανούς, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσι διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, ἐπιστεύθη δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ. καὶ οὔτι που φαμὲν, ὅτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς· ἀνελήφθη δὲ καὶ ἐν δόξῃ, ἵνα λέγοντος ἀκούσῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. *Ed. Lutet.* A. D. 1638, tom. v, pars 2, p. 124.

[8] Εἰ Θεὸς ὢν ὁ Λόγος, ἐνανθρωπῆσαι λέγοιτο, καὶ οὐ δή που μεθεὶς τὸ εἶναι Θεός. ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἦν ἀεὶ διαμένων· μέγα δὴ τότε, καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος νοεῖται κοινὸς ὁ Χριστὸς..... πῶς ἐν σαρκὶ πεφανέρωται; καίτοι πῶς οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐναργὲς, ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐν σαρκί τε ἐστί; καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως ὁρῷτό τίσι; p. 153.

lowed; but on the supposition that Cyril, according to the present reading of his text, quoted 1 Tim. iii, 16, with Θεὸς, he may be considered as offering, in the above-cited passages, an *explanation* of that term, with which explanation his subsequent argument is in full accordance. "Who was *manifested* in the flesh? God, that is the Word, who came from God and who was of the same nature with Him. It was in the character of *God-incarnate* that Christ was *manifested in the flesh*—an expression which cannot apply to the birth of a mere man—and herein lay that *mystery* of godliness of which the apostle speaks." Such is the substance of the father's remarks on 1 Tim iii, 16, and there is obviously nothing in them which disproves his having read Θεὸς. That this is Cyril's true reading, in the former of these passages, is confirmed by the authority of Euthymius Zigabenus, who, in the twelfth century, *so* read and quoted his words.[9]

On the whole it appears, that, in reference to the present question, the evidence of Cyril is *neutral.*

Gelasius of Cyzicum, who lived in the 5th Century and wrote an account—by the learned deemed fictitious—of the Council of Nice, is cited by Wetstein as an authority for ὃς. Griesbach has adopted the citation; but it appears that he read neither ὃς nor Θεὸς, but ὅ; for he introduces Macarius in the Council, as quoting the passage in the following terms, Κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ θεσπεσίου Παύλου, μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ὅ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ· τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸς. "According to the declaration of St. Paul, great is the mystery

9 Euthymius was a Greek monk, who, under the auspices of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, arranged a collection of passages from the works of the fathers, on the subject of orthodox Christianity: *Cave Hist. Lit.* tom. i, p. 451.

of godliness *which* was manifest in the flesh; that is, the Son of God."[a]

The very slender authorities which have hitherto been adverted to in favour of the reading ὃς, are, in some degree, strengthened by the testimony of Liberatus an African ecclesiastic, who flourished A.D. 553, and wrote a breviary of the proceedings of the church in respect to the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies. This writer informs us, that Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, was banished from his see by the Emperor Anastasius, A. D. *circa* 500, on the strange charge of his having, as a Nestorian heretic, corrupted the text of 1 Tim. iii, 16, by changing ὃς into ὦς. Since however the reading ὦς is a very unlikely one, and no trace of it appears in any other existing authority, it is probable that the passage in Liberatus is itself corrupt, and that for ὦς we ought to read Θεὸς. That such is the fact, we may conclude from a repetition of the story, in the works of Hinkmarus, Archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 845. This author has evidently borrowed from Liberatus, with whose breviary he declares himself to be acquainted, when he informs us that Anastasius expelled Macedonius from his see, under the plea of his being a Nestorian, and on the charge of his having, by the change of a single letter, converted ΟC in 1 Tim. iii, 16, into $\overline{\Theta C}$.[b]

This curious story is probably false; for no other ecclesiastical historian gives any account of such a charge against Macedonius; and the charge itself was wholly at variance with the allegation of his being a Nestorian. It was the opinion of the Nestorians that the Son of God and the Son of Mary were different

[a] Vid. *Gelas. in Actis Conc. Nic. ap. Mansium*, tom. ii, p. 872
[b] Vid. *Opuscul.* tom. ii, p. 449. Ed. Paris. A. D. 1645.

persons; and therefore that Mary was *not* "the mother of God." Had it been the intention of Macedonius to establish this opinion by any perversion of 1 Tim. iii, 16, he may surely be supposed to have changed Θεὸς into ὅς rather than the reverse. This is indeed so obvious, that it may perhaps be questioned whether the story in Liberatus has not, through some falsification of copies, and before the days of Hinkmar, been completely reversed. On the supposition, however, that the charge against Macedonius was what Hinkmar declares it to have been, that charge was certainly groundless; for we are in possession of many proofs, that the reading Θεὸς was received in the Church of Christ long before the date, either of Macedonius, (A. D. 500) or Nestorius, (A. D. 431.) On the whole, little more can be collected from this narration, than that ὅς was a reading known and partially adopted in the sixth century.[1]

On a review of the *ascertained* authorities for the reading ὅς, we may well be astonished, at the assertion of Griesbach, who says, "Tuentur scilicet hanc lectionem antiquissimi omnium classium testes." The classes of witnesses to which he refers, and into which he has himself divided the MSS., versions, and fathers, are the Alexandrine, the Byzantine, and the Western. His supposed Alexandrine evidences for the reading ὅς are those of MSS. A, C, 17; Versions, Copt. Sahid. Ethiop. and Cyril. Alex. but the *whole* of these au-

[1] The more I reflect on this strange tale, the more I am persuaded, that as far as relates to the words ὅς and Θεὸς it is *reversed* from its original form. Macedonius was accused of being a Nestorian. The doctrine of Paul in 1 Tim. iii, 16, that God was manifested in the flesh, or, in other words, that he became incarnate through the virgin Mary, was directly opposed to the well-known heresy of the Nestorians, that Mary "was not the mother of God." What then could be more natural than the charge of his changing Θεὸς into ὅς? What more irrelevant and absurd than that of his changing ὅς into Θεὸς?

thorities, with the single exception of MS. No. 17, are either against the reading in question, or extremely doubtful. The same may be said of MSS. F. and G, and Jerom, Griesbach's Western evidences. The Western class, as has been already observed, generally supports the reading ὅ, *quod*, and although it is most probable that this reading originated in ὃς, it is manifest that the versions and fathers which present the reading ὅ, cannot themselves be fairly cited as authorities for ὃς. With respect to the Byzantine class, it is unanimous in the support of the reading Θεὸς. So completely, on the present occasion, does the declaration of this *usually* impartial critic, fall to the ground!

I may now proceed briefly to state the evidences which support the received reading Θεὸς.

I. *Manuscripts.* With the exception of No. 17 and 73, on Griesbach's list, which read ὃς,—of D, which (*primâ manu*) reads ὅ,—of F and G, which are *somewhat* doubtful,—and of A and C, whose reading of Θεὸς is not *perfectly* ascertained,—*all* known and collated MSS. of Paul's epistles, not defective in the passage, unquestionably read Θεὸς. "Reliqui codices nostri," says Wetstein, "(quibus J. Berriman addit ultra quinquaginta alios) magno consensu habent Θεὸς." "Cœteri quos novimus *omnes*," says Griesbach, "etiam Matthæani 13, Alteriani 8, et Birchiani, 32, exhibent Θεὸς." Although the multitude of MSS. which thus *indisputably* support the commonly received reading of 1 Tim. iii, 16, are probably none of them of a date earlier than the 10th century, yet it is to be remembered that they have been discovered in many different places, and must have emanated from a considerable variety of more ancient authorities. It

is impossible therefore to deny that their clear and uniform testimony in favor of the reading Θεός is of great importance. Here we may observe that although the plurality of these small letter MSS. are considered by Griesbach as belonging to the Byzantine class, many of them are allowed by him to have affinity with the *recensio occidentalis*. And he has himself informed us that MSS. 6, 10, 23, 31, 37, 39, 46, 47, on his list, (which all present the reading Θεὸς,) are severally allied to the Colbert MS. 17. These therefore, if there is any truth in his system of classification, must be ascribed to the recensio Alexandrina; so that amongst the manuscripts, "omnium classium testes" support the reading Θεὸς.

II. *Versions.* We have already found occasion to observe that almost the whole of the ancient versions of N. T. support the reading ὅ, *quod*. The only exceptions appear to be a Slavonic MS. version, cited by Griesbach, and the Arabic version of Walton's Polyglott, which both read Θεὸς. The latter is described by Walton as a version of considerable antiquity; and its evidence in the present controversy is of the more importance, because it is allowed to be of *Alexandrine* origin.[2]

III. *Fathers.* It has often been urged against the received reading in 1 Tim. iii, 16, that it is not supported by any of the ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries after Christ. This however does not appear to be the fact.

[2] "Duæ tamen hodie extant inter Christianos versiones bibliorum Arabicæ: una Antiochena quam nondum vidi: altera *Alexandrina sive Ægyptiaca a Christianis sub Patriarcha Alexandrino usurpata*, cujus exemplar scriptum annis abhinc 300, Gabriel Sionita nactus in Bibliis Parisianis publicavit; quod etiam multis in locis ex MSS. antiquis suppletum, ubi Parisiense deficiebat, in nostris bibliis habetur." Vide *Walton. Proleg.* cap. v, § 9. cap. xiv, § 18. 23.

Ignatius (A. D. 100) speaks of "God manifested as man,"—Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου.[a] The probability of his having had in view 1 Tim. iii. 16, when he employed these terms—so similar to those of the apostle with the reading Θεὸς—is enhanced by his stating the doctrine as one of the "celebrated *mysteries*"[3] of our religion. Dr. Burton, who makes this remark, observes that it also applies to the following words of Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 194), Λόγος γὰρ αὗτος μυστήριον ἐμφανές· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Θεὸς. "The Word himself is a *mystery* revealed; God in man, and man, God."[b]

The following passages are of the same description, and may not unfairly be adduced as indirectly alluding to 1 Tim. iii, 16.

Constitutiones Apostolicæ, Θεὸς κύριε....ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκὶ. "O Lord God who didst appear to us in the flesh."[c] *Gregory Thaumaturgus* (A.D. 240), or *Apollinaris* (A.D. 176),—Θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς, "*God manifested in the flesh.*"[d] Catena edited by Wolff, τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ φανερώθεντα Θεὸν. "Him who was *God manifested in the flesh.*"[e] Hippolytus, preceptor of Origen, (A. D. 200) Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμου Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη. "He coming into the world, was *God, manifested* in a body."[f]

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 264, in his letter against Paul of Samosata, (who taught that Christ was a mere man) introduces the very words of the questionable part of 1 Tim. iii, 16, with the read-

[a] Ad Ephes. c. 19. [b] *Pædag.* lib. iii, cap. 1. See *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the divinity of Jesus Christ. Oxf.* 1826. [c] vii, 26. [d] *Apud Photium, cod.* 233. [e] In Act. iii, 23. [f] *Contra. Noetum*, c. 17. vid. *Westein*, in loc.

[3] μυστήρια κραυγῆς.

ing Θεὸς, and as he does this by way of confirming his argument, it must, I think, be allowed that he has actually quoted the passage. "Christ is one," says this writer, "who is in the Father, the co-eternal Word. His person is one, for he was the invisible God, and became visible; for *God was manifest in the flesh*, (Θεὸς γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ) being made of a woman—even he who was begotten of God the Father."[4]

In the extract now given, we have, as appears most probable, an ancient *Alexandrian* authority for the reading Θεὸς. Another authority in its favour, of the same class, and in the following century, is to be found in the works of Athanasius, who, in an epistle against the *followers* of the same Paul of Samosata, makes an extensive use of 1 Tim. iii, 16, quoting and arguing upon it as containing the words Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη.[a] Wetstein would indeed persuade us that this epistle is not one of this writer's genuine productions, but that it came from the pen of Apollinarius or some Eutychian. I believe, however, that an attentive perusal of it will suffice to convince every impartial inquirer that it

[a] Vid. *Athan. Op. Ed. Colon.* A.D. 1686, tom. i, p. 591.

[4] The objection which some persons have made to the genuineness of this epistle, on the ground that it contains the word ὁμοούσιος, (which was afterwards so much employed in the Arian controversy) is refuted by Bishop Bull: *Def. fid. Nicæn.* § 2, cap. xi, pp. 134. 135. Another objection mentioned by Cave is, that the fathers of Antioch, as quoted by Eusebius, affirm that Dionysius, when he wrote his epistle against Paul, did not condescend even to salute him, but directed the letter to the *church:* whereas, in the epistle now extant, he speaks to Paul in the second person: *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* 1, vii, c. 30. But this declaration *confirms*, as I apprehend, the genuineness of the treatise; for although Paul is therein addressed, *his name is pointedly omitted in the salutation;* and it is probable that the letter was consigned by Dionysius to the care of the church at Antioch. Vid. *Ep. adv. Paul. Sam. Mansii Coll. Concil.* tom. i, p. 1040.

could not be written by an Eutychian;[5] but that it contains the orthodox sentiments, and is composed in the clear yet turgid style of Athanasius himself. Dupin objects to this epistle that the Son is described in it as a separate *hypostasis* in the Trinity; whereas Athanasius is accustomed to use this word to signify not a *person* in the Trinity, but the substance of the godhead. This objection, however, is unfounded; for the word ὑπόστασις does not occur in the treatise. Cave has recorded this epistle among the genuine works of Athanasius.

The doubtful testimony of Cyril, who was a presbyter of the church at Alexandria early in the fifth century, has already been examined. I would here observe in addition, that the genuineness of the reading Θεὸς, in the works of that author, is rendered the more probable, by the evidences now adduced of its having been the reading adopted at Alexandria in the two preceding centuries.

The next authority to be adduced in favor of the reading Θεὸς, is that of Gregory, Bishop of Nysse, A. D. 370. In his tenth oration against Eunomius, he is speaking of the passages in which the apostle Paul applied to Jesus Christ the *name of God,* and in such a manner as to prove that he meant the true and

[5] Apollinarius and the Eutychians pretended that the incarnation of the Son of God was a mere phantasy, and that he never truly assumed the nature of man. On the contrary, the followers of Paul of Samosata, asserted that the deity of Christ was a fiction, and that he was *only a man.* In the epistle written against the latter doctrine, Athanasius insists on the reality and immutability of the Godhead of Christ; but at the same time he repeatedly declares that the Word was made flesh, and thus that God became *man.* On the supposition, however, (adopted by some learned men) that this treatise came from the pen not of Athanasius but of Apollinarius himself, it affords a still more ancient, and perhaps equally important, authority for the reading Θεὸς.

supreme God. After citing Rom. ix, 5, and Tit. ii, 13; he proceeds to 1 Tim. iii, 16, as follows: Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διαῤῥήδην βοᾷ, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σάρκι, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι. "But to Timothy he proclaims in plain terms that God was manifest in the flesh, justified by the spirit." The reader will perceive that this author, in citing the apostle's words, has inaccurately placed the article before Θεὸς; but this was not a mistake of any moment, since Θεὸς and ὁ Θεὸς, in the Greek Scriptures, equally signify the supreme God. That the copies of the Greek Testament, which Gregory was accustomed to peruse, contained the word Θεὸς in 1 Tim. iii, 16, is unquestionable.

From the works of Basil the Great, the brother of Gregory, (A. D. 370) Wetstein has cited the following words:—τοῦ μεγάλου μυστηρίου, ὅτε ὁ κύριος.....ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ. From this brief and inadequate quotation, he concludes that Basil did *not* read Θεὸς. From an examination of the whole passage, however, the reader will readily deduce the opposite conclusion. Τοῦ μεγάλου μυστηρίου τὴν χάριν....ὅτε ὁ Κύριος πάντα διεξελθὼν τὰ εἰς επιμέλειαν ἥκοντα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν ἐπιδημίαν. Ὠφέλησε γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσμα, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ πατριαρχῶν, ὧν οἱ βίοι ὑποδείγματα.....εἶτα νόμον ἔδωκεν εἰς βοηθείαν.....εἶτα προφήτας .....κριτὰς.....μετὰ πάντας τούτους, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, αὐτὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ. "The grace of the great mystery.....when THE LORD, after performing all things which appertain to the care of the race of mankind, completed the whole by freely bestowing upon us, his personal presence. For he benefited his creature man, first by means of the patriarchs whose lives are our examples, &c.: then he gave the law to assist us.....next the prophets and the judges.....after

all these, in the last days, HE WAS HIMSELF manifested in the flesh."[a] It is very obvious that by κύριος in this passage, Basil signifies the Supreme Being. His doctrine is, that GOD was manifested in the flesh; and since the passage which reminded him of this doctrine, and to which he alludes, in confirmation of it, was 1 Tim. iii, 16; we may safely conclude that he there read Θεὸς.

Our next authority is Chrysostom. Wetstein has made an attempt by a conjectural criticism, to weaken the evidence of Chrysostom in favour of the reading Θεὸς: but in this attempt he has failed; for there are two passages in the works of this writer, in which this reading of 1 Tim. iii, 16, is perspicuously supported. The first is in his homily *de beato Philogonio*, which was delivered A. D. 386. Speaking of the incarnation of the Son, he says, τὸ δὲ Θεὸν ὄντα ἄνθρωπον θελῆσαι γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι καταβῆναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὐδὲ διάνοια δέξασθαι δυνάται, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ φρικωδέστατον, καὶ ἐκπλήξεως γέμον· ὃ δὴ καὶ Παῦλος θαυμάζων ἔλεγεν· καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· ποῖον μέγα; Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ. "But that he, being God, should be willing to become a man, and should bear to descend, in a degree which the understanding cannot comprehend—this is most awful and astonishing. Paul *wonders* at it, and says—'And without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness.' What great (mystery)? 'God was manifest in the flesh."[b] The other passage (which alone is noticed by Wetstein) is in the Homilies on 1 Tim. It is written in the same spirit, and is equally explicit as to the reading Θεὸς. After quoting the passage with that reading, Chrysostom comments

[a] *Basil. Epist.* 241. *alias* 65. [b] *Hom.* vi, Ed. Benedict. tom. i, p. 497.

on it as follows: Τουτέσιν, ἡ οἰκονομία ἡ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. μὴ μοι εἴπῃς τοὺς κώδωνας, μηδὲ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, μηδὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα· σύλος ἐστὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ ἐκκλησία· ἐννόησον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ φρίξαι ἔχεις· καὶ μυστήριόν ἐστι καὶ μέγα, καὶ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, οὐ ζητουμένως, ἀναμφίβολον γάρ ἐστιν· ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἱερέων διαταττόμενος οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἶπεν οἷον ἐν τῷ Λευϊτικῷ, εἰς ἕτερον ἀνάγει τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγων, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, τουτέσιν ὁ Δημιουργὸς ὤφθη. "The mystery of godliness—that is the economy instituted for us. Speak not to me of the bells, or of the holy of holies, or of the high priest. The church is the pillar of the world. Consider the mystery, and thou wilt have cause to tremble. It is a great mystery—a mystery of godliness—universally confessed, and not a subject of question, for it is beyond doubt. Since, when discoursing of the priests, (according to what we read in Leviticus) he said nothing of this kind, he now brings the matter to a different point, and says, *God was manifest in the flesh*, that is, the *Creator became visible*."[a]

Theodoret (A. D. 423) whose authority, as an early and elaborate commentator on Scripture, is of considerable importance, supports the reading Θεὸς with equal clearness. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ—Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ Θεοῦ υἱὸς, καὶ ἀόρατον ἔχων τὴν φύσιν, δῆλος ἅπασιν ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐγένετο—"God was manifest in the flesh; for he being God and the Son of God, and possessing an invisible nature, by becoming a man, was made manifest to all men."[b]

Euthalius, bishop of Sulca, who published the epistles of Paul, and divided them into chapters, (A. D. 462,) headed the chapter containing 1 Tim. iii, 16, with the words περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως. According to the testimo-

[a] *Hom.* xi, tom. xi, 606. [b] In loc.

ny of his editor Zacagni, it clearly appears, that Euthalius read Θεὸς.[a]

To these authorities are to be added several others of a later date, yet by no means destitute of weight, viz. Johannes Damascenus, (A. D. 730)[b] Epiphanius Catanensis, (A. D. 787)[c] Photius, (A. D. 858)[d] Œcumenius (A.D. 900)[e] and Theophylact (A.D. 1077).[f]

It appears then, that the various readings of 1 Tim. iii, 16, which have so extensively engaged the attention of biblical critics, are ὁ ἐφανερώθη, ὃς ἐφανερώθη, and Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη.

That the reading ὃ is supported by almost all the ancient versions, by one uncial MS. (D) which has been corrupted to suit the Vulgate, and by the post Nicene Latin fathers, with little or no exception.

That notwithstanding these authorities, since this reading derives scarcely any support from the Greeks; since the Latins probably quoted the passage without reference to the original, in imitation one of another, and in support of a peculiar notion of their own; since the use of μυστήριον to describe Jesus Christ personally, is abhorrent from the style and doctrine of the apostle; and since the change of ὃς into ὃ is much more probable, than that of ὃ into ὃς, we may conclude, with Griesbach, that ὃ is a supposititious reading.

That the question therefore lies between ὃς and Θεος.

That although the formation of ΟC from $\overline{\Theta C}$ by omission, is more probable than that of $\overline{\Theta C}$ from ΟC by addition, yet since either of these circumstances might occur, and since construction allows of either

[a] Vid. *Berriman Crit. Diss.* on Tim. iii, 16, p. 217. [b] In loc.
[c] Vid. *Berriman*, p. 224. [d] Vid. *Berriman*, p. 225. [e] In loc.
[f] In loc.

reading, the question can be settled only by a comparison of authorities.

Lastly, That the comparison stands as follows—

	ὅς.	Θεὸς.
MANUSCRIPTS.	The Augian and Boernerian (F & G, a single authority) *possibly*. Two small-letter MSS. (17 & 73) *certainly*.	The Augian & Boernerian (F & G, a single authority) *probably*. The Alexandrian and Ephrem (A & C) *almost certainly*. With the exception of 17 & 73, *all* collated small-letter MSS. of every class, *certainly*.
VERSIONS.	NONE.	Arabic Polyg. and MS. Slavonic, *certainly*. Armenian, *possibly*.
FATHERS.	Cyril Alex. (A.D. 412) *in parte, probably*. Epiphanius (A.D. 390) *probably*. Theodore Mopsuest. (A.D. 400) *clearly*. Also some persons in the 6th century, as appears from the story told by Liberatus and Hincksmarus.	Ignatius (A. D. 100) Clemens Alex. (A. D. 194), and others, *probably*. Dionysius Alex. (A.D. 264) if genuine, as is probable, *pretty clearly*. Athanasius (A. D. 326) if genuine, as is probable, *certainly*. Cyril. Alex. (A. D. 412) *in parte, probably*. Basil (A. D. 370) *probably*. Gregory Nyss. (A. D. 370) Chrysostom (A. D. 386) Theodoret (A. D. 423) Euthalius (A. D. 462) Damascenus (A. D. 730) Epiphanius, jun. (A.D. 787) Photius (A. D. 858) Œcumenius (A. D. 900) Theophylact (A. D. 1077)

On a mature consideration of this comparative statement, I deem it to be indisputable, that the evidences in favour of Θεὸς, which include many of the Alexan-

drine, some of the Western, and nearly all the Byzantine authorities, greatly preponderate over those in favour of ὃς; and although a considerable allowance may reasonably be demanded for ὃς, on the ground of its being the most probable origin of ὅ, I cannot avoid concluding, that Griesbach, on his own professed principles of classification, had no sufficient reasons for the expulsion of Θεὸς; *but that this long-received reading ought clearly to be retained in the text of the Greek Testament.*

No. 19.

Additional Observations on 1 Tim. iii, 16.

Although the conclusion to which we are now come appears to rest on a solid basis, it may be useful to dwell for a short time on this passage of Scripture, *as read by Griesbach and the editors of the U. N. V.* When deprived of Θεὸς, it can no longer be cited as a direct declaration of the deity of Jesus Christ: nevertheless, even in this form, it contains an obvious allusion to that doctrine.

"Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness. He who was manifested in the flesh was justified by the Spirit, &c." The singular and striking phrase, "*was manifested in the flesh,*" is explained by the editors of U. N. V. as follows: "was evidently a real man, a proper human being, and not a man in appearance only, as the Gnostics and Docetæ taught, to whom the apostle seems to allude."

The Docetæ, who entertained the notion here mentioned, and who derived their title from δοκέω *videor*, were the followers of Julius Cassianus, and did not make their appearance until nearly the close of the second century.[a] These persons, therefore, could not have been the objects of the apostle's attention. With respect to the Gnostics, their general opinion appears to have been, that Christ was a superangelic and impassible Being who descended into Jesus, as into a

[a] Vid. *Rees' Cyclop.* in voc.

receptacle, at the time when the latter was baptized. Thus they made the Christ and Jesus separate persons. It appears, however, that a division of this sect held the doctrine afterwards adopted by the Docetæ; namely, that Jesus was himself the Christ, but that he lived (as a man) and died—*only in appearance.*[1]

Although we have no reason to suppose that the apostle had here any view to the refutation of this particular heresy—a purpose for which he would scarcely have selected the verb ἐφανερώθη—it is clear that the passage relates to the proper humanity of Jesus Christ; for σὰρξ, as we have elsewhere found occasion to observe, denotes not merely the visible body of a man, but the *human nature.*[a]

But although the real humanity of Christ is by all Christians admitted to be true, it is neither the *whole* truth respecting him, nor the *whole* doctrine here alluded to. Had it been the apostle's intention to assert that Jesus Christ was a real man, and *nothing else*, or in other words, that he was, as the editors conceive him to have been, *a mere man*—it is quite incredible that he would have employed the phrase "was *manifested* in the flesh." Who does not perceive that this phrase involves the idea of the *appearing in the flesh* of a Being who had previously subsisted *invisibly?*

[a] Vid. i, 14; iii, 6, &c.

[1] "Sed corruunt (Gnostici) iterum dicentes, eum qui sursum est, Christum et Salvatorem non natum esse, sed et post baptisma ejus qui sit de dispositione Jesu, ipsum sicut columbam in eum descendisse:" *Irenæus, Contra Hær.* lib. iii, cap. x, Ed. Ben. p. 186. "Quoniam autem sunt qui dicunt, Jesum quidem receptaculum Christi fuisse, in quem desuper quasi columbam descendisse Christum ..... et esse quidem filium Jesum, patrem vero Christum, et Christi patrem Deum: alii vero *putativè eum passum naturaliter impassibilem existentem*," cap. xvi, p. 204. See also *Ignatius, Ep. ad Smyrnæos.*

In reference to this point, the words of Cyril are worthy of being recalled to our attention,—"If Christ is considered a *common* man, how was he '*manifested* in the flesh?' How indeed can it fail to be universally understood, that *every man* is in the flesh, and could not otherwise be seen?"[a] Besides, the apostle is dwelling, not on the common course of things, but on some *great and universally acknowledged mystery*, in the system of true religion. What was that mystery but the incarnation of the SON OF GOD? "If the Word, being GOD, is described as becoming man, without laying aside his deity, but continuing to retain the nature in which he had eternally existed, then, indeed great, by universal confession great, is the *mystery of godliness!*"[b]

The true key to the apostle's meaning in this passage (whether we adopt or exclude the word Θεὸς) may be found in a variety of parallel texts. Vid. John i, 1, 14; Rom. i, 3, 4; viii, 3; ix, 5; 1 Cor. xv, 47; Phil. ii, 6, 7; Heb. ii, 14—18; x, 5; 1 John i, 1, 2. These passages, together with 1 Tim. iii, 16, when considered in connexion with each other, bear an accordant and most satisfactory testimony to the *joint* doctrines of the deity and incarnation of Christ.

In John i, 1, 2, more particularly, the verb ἐφανερώθη again occurs, and again expresses the appearing in the flesh of him, who had previously subsisted spiritually and invisibly. "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the WORD OF LIFE. For the LIFE was manifested, (ἐφανερώθη) and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that ETERNAL LIFE which was with the Father, and was manifested (ἐφανερώθη) unto us, &c." "The word,"

[a] *Cyril. de recta fide*, p. 153. [b] *Idem.*

"the life," and "eternal life," are expressions elsewhere applied by this apostle, as personal titles of the Son of God:[a] and in the passage now cited, they appear to be incapable of any other interpretation. The doctrine of John, like that of Paul, is plainly this; that Christ, the eternal Word—the author and giver of life, who subsisted invisibly with the Father in the beginning of all things—was, by his incarnation, *made manifest*—so that his followers saw, heard, and handled him. Accordingly John soon afterwards applies the term ἐφανερώθη expressly to *the Son of God*—"For this purpose, the *Son of God* was manifested, (ἐφανερώθη) that he might destroy the works of the devil."[b]

These observations will, I trust, throw light on two other passages in the epistles of John, which plainly relate to the same subject. "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ *is come in the flesh* (ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα) is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is *come in the flesh*, is not of God."[c] Again—"For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί). This is a deceiver and an antichrist."[d] The editors of U. N. V. (after Priestley) have offered the same interpretation of these passages, as of 1 Tim. iii, 16. On the words, "come in the flesh," they say, "that is, that Jesus Christ was a real man, in opposition to the Gnostics and Docetæ, who taught that Christ was a man only in appearance."[e] That the *real* humanity of Christ is alluded to in this passage as well as in 1 Tim. iii, 16, is neither disputed nor disputable.

[a] See John i, 1; xiv, 6: 1 John v, 20: Rev. xix, 13. [b] ch. iii, 8.
[c] 1 John iv, 2, 3. [d] 2 John 7. [e] *Note* in loc.

But that "to be a real man," and to "*come* in the flesh," are equivalent expressions—or that the apostle would be likely to use the latter phrase, for the purpose of denoting that Jesus *was a man and nothing more*—common sense forbids us to imagine. If we take these words according to their plain and obvious force, and compare them with the opening passage of the epistle, we shall not fail to perceive, that the doctrine, of which the confession is here enjoined as a test of soundness in religion, is that of the *incarnation of a divine Saviour*. It is, that the Son who had preexisted with the Father, in the unity of the Godhead, *actually took our nature upon him*, and thus became the Messiah of Israel, and the Redeemer of the World.

No. 20.

Jesus Christ, "our great God and Saviour."

THE doctrine, that Jesus Christ is "OUR GREAT GOD AND SAVIOUR," may be regarded as *expressly assumed* by the apostle Paul, in the following passage.

Ἐπεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι· Προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ· ὃς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα λυτρώσηται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας καὶ καθαρίσῃ ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον, ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων.[a]

"For the grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of *the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ*, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." *Eng. Trans.*

King James's translators have left us in doubt, whether they understood the words Θεοῦ and Σωτῆρος of one or of two persons. Had they intended to apply Θεοῦ to the Father, and Σωτῆρος to Jesus Christ, they

[a] Tit. ii, 11—14.

would probably have followed the example of Cranmer, in repeating the preposition "*of*" before "*our Saviour.*"[1] On the other hand, if they understood both these terms as relating to Jesus Christ, they might certainly have expressed their meaning with greater clearness.

But whatever may have been the views of the authors of our received version, on the present subject, we are in possession of sound critical reasons, as well as of the authority of the ancient church in general, for understanding the terms Θεοῦ and Σωτῆρος as *both* relating to our Lord Jesus Christ. According to a common rule of Greek construction, the apostle's words προσδεχόμενοι, &c. ought to be rendered, "*Looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing* OF OUR GREAT GOD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, *who gave himself for us!* &c."

The rule in question relates to the use of the *article* before *attributives ;* i. e. before *words which indicate the attributes of a thing or person.* These are adjectives and participles without exception, and all such substantives as describe character, office, relation, and quality.[2]

The rule consists of two parts, and may be stated as follows:

1. When two or more attributives, joined by a copulative or copulatives, are *assumed* of the same person

[1] Cranmer's version is, "the appearing of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." I understand that in Wickliffe's version, the words *God* and *Saviour* are both applied to Jesus Christ.

[2] "These substantives," says Middleton, "we find interchanged and associated both with adjectives and with participles. They are interchanged, as when ὁ βουλεύων is put for ὁ βουλεύτης, and they are associated as in ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης, τὸν γόητα καὶ περιτετμηκότα." *Doctr. of Gr. Art. Note*, p. 80.

or thing, persons or things, the article is *inserted* before the first of such attributives, but is *not repeated* before the remaining ones. 2. When, on the contrary, two or more attributives, so connected, are *assumed* of different persons or things, the article is inserted before each of them in succession.

The following examples will serve to elucidate the *first part* of the rule.

Ῥώσκιος, Ὁ υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἠγανάκτει. "Roscius, *the son and heir* of the deceased was angry."[a]

Ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγώ. "I who am the counsellor and orator."[b]

Τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιοτόμον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν. "The cheat and purse-cutter and destroyer of the state."[c]

Τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ. "Things which are base, but necessary."[d]

Τοὺς αὐτόχειρας καὶ φονέας τῶν πολιτῶν. "Those who assault and murder the citizens."[e]

So also in the New Testament.

Ὥστε τὸν τυφλὸν καὶ κωφὸν καὶ λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν. "So that the blind and deaf man, both spake and saw."[f]

Ἐν γνώσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. "In the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[g]

Παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ. "Before God, even the Father," or rather, "Before him who is both God and Father."[h]

Similar examples abound in the works of Greek writers both sacred and profane. It is a mode of ex-

[a] *Plutarch.* [b] *Demosthenes.* [c] *Æschines.* [d] *Herodotus.* [e] *Isocrates.* Vid. *Middleton, Doct. of Gr. Article,* pp. 80. 88. [f] Matt. xii, 22. [g] 2 Pet. iii, 18. [h] James i, 27.

pression as common and familiar as any which could easily be pointed out, and every Greek scholar must allow, that in any such phrases as those which have now been quoted, the repetition of the article before the successive attributives, would be foreign from the idiom of the language. Whatsoever, therefore, may be said respecting the uncertainty attaching to the Greek article, it would be very unreasonable to ascribe this usage either to chance or to arbitrary choice. Unquestionably it must rest upon some intelligible principle.

On the nature of that principle, we may derive sufficient information from the able and, *on the whole*, satisfactory work, of the late Bishop Middleton. According to that writer, "the Greek prepositive article is the pronoun relative ὁ, so employed that its relation is supposed to be more or less obscure; which relation, therefore, is explained in some adjunct, annexed to the article by the participle of existence expressed or understood." "Hence," he adds, "the article may be considered as the *subject*, and its adjunct as the *predicate*, of a proposition, differing from ordinary propositions only as *assumption* differs from *assertion*, for this is the only difference between the verb and the participle—between ἐστιν and ὤν."[a]

That Middleton is correct in his general theory—that the article ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, is a pronoun, (partaking indeed, like the *hic, hæc, hoc*, of the Latins, of a demonstrative quite as much as of a relative character)—investigation appears fully to confirm. For, *in the first place*, like *hic, hæc, hoc*, and other pronouns both Greek and Latin, whether relative or demonstrative, the Greek

[a] *Doct. Gr. Art.* pp. 7, 8.

article is regularly declined with genders, cases, and numbers. This would scarcely have been the case had it been as Jones imagines, an *ecce*—a mere exclamatory mark of definition.[a]

Secondly, it is often found, especially in Homer, without any adjunct whatever, in which case it is universally confessed to be a pronoun, as in the following and a thousand other instances.

Ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆι χολωθείς
Νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακήν.

"But *he* was enraged with the King, and excited a deadly disease in the camp."[b]

Ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε. "But *he* came."[c]

Ὁ μὲν δή οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπεε. "But *he* told *him the things which* he had seen."[d]

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεσήκεε πολιορκίη. "But against *these* the siege was formed."[e]

Thirdly, as it follows from the pronominal nature of the article, that the participle of existence must either be expressed or understood between it and its adjunct, so the frequent *expression* of this participle affords an evidence that the article is indeed a pronoun. Thus, in the phrase οἱ μάλιστα ἄξιοι ὄντες ἥκιστα πλουτοῦσι,[f] οἱ is properly rendered by the English pronoun *those*, with a relative—"*those who* are the most worthy of riches are the last to grow rich." Nor is there any ground for regarding the case as substantially altered where the participle of existence is not expressed. Had Aristotle written οἱ μάλιστα ἄξιοι ἥκιστα πλουτοῦσι, it is plain that ὄντες must have been understood, and that οἱ would still have continued *in its nature pronominal.*

[a] See *Expl. of Gr. Art. by John Jones, LL.D.*, p. 3. [b] *Il.* Α. l. 9. [c] l. 12. [d] *Herod.* lib. i, § 68. [e] *Id.* lib. i, § 81. [f] *Arist. De Mor.* vid. *Middleton*, p. 39.

Dr. Middleton is probably right in applying his doctrine universally, and in asserting that the article "*always* indicates the subintellection of the participle of existence, where that participle is not expressed or otherwise implied."[a] This fact, however, appears particularly clear, as it relates to the article when used before attributives. In the participles of other verbs, that of existence is involved and virtually expressed;[3] and when it is not expressed before adjectives, or attributive substantives, (used with the article,) common sense obviously leads us to supply it. Who does not perceive that ὁ ἀγαθος is ὁ ὢν ἀγαθος, *he that is good;* and ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ὢν Θεὸς, he that is God? The same ellipsis takes place when adverbs are used attributively. Τὰ ἀνὼ is τὰ ὄντα ἀνὼ, *the things* which are above: τὰ κατὼ, τὰ ὄντα κατὼ, *the things* which are beneath.

In addition, I have only to remark, that the pronominal nature of the article appears to have been very familiar to the apostle Paul, who often uses it instead of the relative pronoun, as in the following examples among many others—τοῦ γενομένου (for ὃς ἐγένετο) ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, "*who was made* of the seed of David:"[b] πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν (for οἳ εἰσιν) ἐν Ρώμῃ, "to all *who are* in Rome:"[c] ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν κατεχόντων (for οἳ κατέχουσι) "of the men *who hold* the truth:"[d]

[a] *Mid.* p. 44. [b] Rom. i, 3. [c] i, 7. [d] ver. 18.

[3] "Scaliger says, that though the Romans rejected from their language the simple word *ens*, they used it in the composition of their active participles, so that audiens is ἀκούων ὤν. This is true no doubt: but how happens it that ἀκούων ὤν is foreign from the Greek idiom? Evidently because the Greeks have made the same use of ὤν which the Latins made of *ens*: they have incorporated it with their participles of the present tense in each of their conjugations:" *Mid. Doct. Gr. Art.* p. 44. The same principle applies to participles of all tenses and moods.

Χριστὸς Ὁ ὢν (for ὃς ἐστὶν) ἐπὶ παντῶν, "Christ, *who is* over all."[a]

On the supposition then, that Middleton's general doctrine on the subject of the Greek article, is correct, how does it apply to the rule now stated, viz. *that when two or more attributives joined by a copulative or copulatives, are assumed of the same person or thing, persons or things, the article is inserted before the first of such attributives, but is not repeated before the remaining ones?* The application of the principle to the rule is easy and clear. Since the article with its adjunct contains an assumptive proposition, it follows that every time the article is repeated, *we have a fresh assumption.* But in the case supposed by the rule, the successive attributives relate to *the subject of a single assumption,* and therefore the repetition of the article before each of them, would form a contradiction in terms—it would, as Middleton observes, involve the absurdity of "*adding an individual to himself.*"

Thus, in the phrase Ὁ τύφλος καὶ κώφος, we have a single assumption relating to an individual subject, and we render the words *he that is blind and deaf;* but if the article be inserted before κώφος as well as τύφλος, we shall have *two* assumptions, and these must be understood as relating to *two* individuals. In such a case, we must render the Greek "*He that is blind, and he that is deaf.*" On the supposition that τύφλος and κώφος relate to the *same* person, the omission of the article before κώφος is not an ellipsis, as some persons imagine, but *is required by a common principle of construction.* So plain is this principle, and so universal appears to be its application, that wherever we find attributives *assumed* in a sentence, and connected to-

[a] Rom. ix, 5.

gether by a copulative or copulatives, with the article prefixed before each of them, we may consider the repetition of the article a sure indication, that they severally relate to distinct persons or things.[4]

[4] Dr. Middleton's theory respecting the subintellection of the participle of existence, between the article and its adjunct or predicate, is strongly confirmed by the customary *omission* of the article in the following cases:

1st. In propositions which merely affirm or deny existence, as ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, *Arist.*—"There is knowledge." οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸς, Ps. liii, 1—"The fool hath said, there is no God." Had the article been used before ἐπιστήμη and Θεὸς, the existence of both would have been thereby *assumed;* in which case, to affirm the existence of the former, would have been superfluous, to deny that of the latter, contradictory in terms.

2nd. Before nouns preceded by verbs or participles, substantive or nuncupative, as, αἴτιος ἐιμὶ τοῦ πολέμου—"I am the cause of the war:" *Demost.* Δίκαιος ἐπικαλοῦμενος—"Called the just." Here the article would be required before αἴτιος and δίκαιος were it not for the preceding verb and participle, *which are of a nature to preclude the necessity of such an assumption as the article would indicate.*

3rd. Before verbs of appointing, choosing, creating, &c. as ἡγεμὼν καὶ κύριος ἠρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων—"Philip was chosen the leader and master of them all." This case is resolvable into the former, as, εἶναι, *to be*, is properly supplied after the verb ἠρέθη: vid. *Mid.* 61—65. "The omission in these several cases," says Middleton, "however different they may appear, is one and the same, being a necessary consequence of the subintellection of the participle of existence:" p. 66.

When however the existence of the predicate *is intended to be assumed*, it is accompanied by the article even after verbs substantive; as in 1 Kings xviii, 39: Κύριος αὐτός ἐστιν Ὁ Θεὸς.—"Jehovah, He is *God*." Here the existence of a Supreme Being is assumed, and the object of the proposition is to *identify Jehovah with him.* The question was whether Jehovah or Baal were God. The proposition asserts, that "Jehovah—*He* is God." In similar propositions, it sometimes happens that there are two or more predicates, in which case they may each of them take the article, even though they are simple attributives, as in 2 John 7: Οὗτός ἐστιν Ὁ πλάνος καὶ Ὁ Ἀντίχριστος—"He is the Deceiver and the Antichrist." I conceive, that in this instance, the verb and its nominative are to be understood before the second predicate—"He is the deceiver and (he is) the Antichrist." This example contains no infringement of the Rule part 1, because as Middleton observes, *(in loc.)* the writer is not here *assuming* the union, in one person, of the two characters of deceiver and Antichrist, but is *asserting* the identity of the person spoken of, with each of them *distinctively*. Had the proposition been differ-

This observation naturally leads to some consideration of the second branch of the rule—namely, that *when two or more attributives, connected by a copulative or copulatives, are assumed of different persons or things, the article is employed before each of them in succession.* Examples illustrative of this part of the rule, are of frequent occurrence. The following may suffice.

EXAMPLES.

Λυποῦνται μὲν καὶ χαίρουσι καὶ οἱ ἄφρονες καὶ οἱ φρόνιμοι, καὶ οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι—Both the foolish and the wise, both the cowardly and the brave, are liable to sorrow and joy.[a]

Τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον—The better and the worse.[b] Ψυχρὸν δὲ τὸ συνάγον καὶ συγκρῖνον ὁμοίως τὰ τε συγγενῆ καὶ τὰ μὴ ὁμόφυλα, (an example which illustrates both parts of the rule) "Cold which alike contracts and combines both congenial and uncongenial substances."[c] Τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις—"To unmarried men and to widows."[d]

It ought indeed to be observed, that this branch of the rule, applies to the use of the article before nouns of every description, whether attributives or not. Thus we read in Plato, τῶν λυπῶν καὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν—"Of pains and pleasures:"[e] and in Sophocles,

τὰν Διὸς ἀσφαπὰν
καὶ τὰν οὐρανίαν Θέμιν—

[a] *Plato in Gorgia*, § 42. [b] *Id.* § 44. [c] *Aristot. de Generat. et Corrupt.* lib. ii, cap. 2. [d] 1 Cor. vii, 8. [e] *Gorgias*, § 41.

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ently constructed—had the writer, for example, intended to convey the idea, that he who was the deceiver and Antichrist was coming—he could not, with any correctness, have inserted the article before the second attributive. We should then have read Ὁ πλάνος καὶ Ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται. John xiv, 6, and Rev. i, 11, present examples of the same kind.

"The lightning of Jupiter and celestial justice."[a] Τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης—"Of the work of faith and labour of love."[b] It is almost needless to remark, that similar instances abound in every Greek writer.

The principle of this branch of the rule, is equally clear with that of the former. Since each of the connected nouns in these examples, relates to a distinct individual, and *therefore forms the subject of a distinct assumption,* and since such assumption can be *properly* expressed only by the article with its adjunct or predicate, (the participle of existence being in every case expressed or understood) it plainly follows that, in grammatical strictness, the article is required before the second and following nouns, just as much as it is before the first noun in the series.

But although this latter branch of the rule rests, like its precursor, on a clear principle, it is by no means observed *in practice* with equal uniformity. The former part of the rule, is broken only when the article is improperly and anomalously *inserted*—a fault into which no competent Greek writer would be likely to fall: but the latter part is infringed by that which is comparatively easy and natural—*omission;* and *omission* or *ellipsis* is generally considered justifiable, and in point of fact, is of frequent occurrence, whenever it is productive of no obscurity or confusion in the sense.

Although, therefore, our rule is in point of principle applicable to nouns of every description, and is *generally* observed, it is nevertheless liable to be infringed, when they are the names of substances or of abstract ideas, as Ὁ λίθος καὶ χρυσός. "Stone and gold." Τὴν ἀπειρίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν.[c] "Inexperience and

[a] *Electr.* l, 1059. [b] 1 Thess. i, 3. [c] *Plato.*

unskilfulness." In all such cases, the operation of ellipsis is allowable because productive of no inconvenience. Since one substance or one abstract idea, cannot possibly be the same as another, no obscurity, in such instances, can arise from the omission of the article.

But when the connected nouns are *attributives*, the rule becomes more important, and is far more exactly observed. Since it almost always happens that a variety of attributives may be predicated of the same person, the omission of the article before any of them, when, in such a series as has been described, they are intended to relate respectively to *different* persons, would for the most part be productive of great obscurity, and therefore the ellipsis is no longer justifiable. Even as it relates to *attributives*, however, the rule is liable to certain limitations, which do not involve this difficulty.

Thus in the case of *proper names*, since every one knew that Alexander and Philip were different persons, Æschines ran no risk of becoming ambiguous, when he used the expression τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον: neither can Luke be considered to have expressed himself obscurely, when he wrote σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ.[a] The repetition of the article before the second proper name, is however both more correct and more usual, and in these and some similar instances, the omission may be accounted for by the circumstance, that the two persons mentioned, were previously well known *in connection with each other*.[b]

Again, the article is sometimes omitted before the second attributive, when such attributive is placed in direct opposition to the first, or when it is in its na-

[a] Acts xv, 22. [b] See *Middleton*, pp. 117, 118.

ture incapable of being predicated of the same thing or person. Thus Diogenes Laertius having divided some of Plato's dialogues into two kinds, viz. θεωρημάτικος and πρακτικος, subdivides the former into τὸν φύσικον καὶ λόγικον, "*the natural and speculative,*" and the latter into τὸν ἠθικον καὶ πολίτικον, "*the moral and political.*" Here the omission of the article before the second attributives, although somewhat awkward, is consistent with clearness; as it plainly is also, in the following examples, τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐμὸν, "*that which is mine and that which is not mine:*"[a] τὸ ὅσιον καὶ μὴ, "*that which is holy and that which is not so:*"[b] μεταξὺ τοῦ ποιοῦντος καὶ πάσχοντος," "*between the doer and the sufferer.*"[c] In these and all similar cases, there is an obvious ellipsis; and that ellipsis is *harmless.*

Lastly, a similar omission of the article, *sometimes* takes place when the attributives are of the plural number—the reason of which is sufficiently evident. Although several attributes and offices may easily be united in a single person, and several characters in one substance, it is highly improbable, that a plurality of persons or substances should all present the same combinations. Thus, were we required to describe two persons, the one a Pharisee, the other an Elder, we should express ourselves very improperly did we say, Ὁ φαρίσαιος καὶ πρεσβύτερος, instead of Ὁ φαρισαῖος καὶ Ὁ πρεσβύτερος: but were we speaking of the Pharisees and Elders in the plural, and under the notion that the Pharisees were not of necessity Elders, nor the Elders Pharisees, it would be inelegant rather than inaccurate to omit the second article, and to say, οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι.

With these limitations, which so conspicuously arise

[a] *Plutarch.* [b] *Plato.* [c] *Plato.*

out of the nature of the case, it may fairly be said, that the second branch of our rule is of universal application in the Greek language. Examples of its observance are perpetually met with in Greek writers; and instances of its infraction, (within the prescribed limits) if ever to be found, (and they are on all hands allowed to be extremely rare) can be ascribed only to great carelessness of composition. It is in vain that "*Gregory Blunt,*" in his "*Six more Letters to Granville Sharp,*" amuses himself and his readers by proving that the rule is not observed in English; for it is nevertheless indisputably true that it is observed in Greek. And equally in vain is it, that this unknown author objects to the rule because of its limitations; for *both* coincide with the analogy of grammar in general. The rule, like other rules of composition, rests upon a principle; and its limitations, like theirs, arise from the tendency which prevails in most writers to express themselves, notwithstanding precise grammatical principles, with as much facility and brevity as is consistent with clearness.

Now, although it is universally admitted that our rule, as thus limited, is very generally observed by classical Greek writers, the question naturally arises whether it can be safely applied to the less cultivated dialect of the evangelists and apostles? Some of the opposers of the divinity of Christ appear to consider, that little more is necessary for the decision of the present branch of the controversy, than to *ridicule* the notion of extracting doctrines from the words of these "rude Hellenistic writers," by the help of an "Attic refinement," respecting "so subtle a part of speech as the article." In answer to such an allegation, it might

be enough to reply, that our rule is no such refinement. It belongs not to the mere nicety and polish of the Greek tongue, but rests on so plain a principle, that it could hardly be otherwise than *practically familiar* to every writer and speaker of Greek. On such a subject as the present, however, there is nothing like the evidence of fact. And the *fact* is that our rule is observed with at least as much exactness by the authors of the New Testament, as by Greek writers in general. I believe that *Sharp* and *Wordsworth* are correct in asserting, that no single example of the infraction of the rule, within its true limits, is to be found in the whole of the New Testament.[a] It is more particularly incumbent upon us, however, to examine whether it was habitually followed by the apostle Paul. The result of such an examination I have found to be very satisfactory; as will appear from the following statement.

First, When the attributives relate to the same person or thing, persons or things, the apostle makes use of the article before the first attributive only, as in the following examples:

Τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐργαζομένῳ, πιστεύοντι δὲ. "To him that worketh not, but believeth."[b] Ἀσπάσασθε Ἀνδρόνικον καὶ Ἰουνίαν, τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου καὶ συναιχμαλώτους μου. "Salute Andronicus and Junias my relations and fellow soldiers."[c] Ὁ γὰρ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων ἀναξίως. "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily."[d] Εὐλογητὸς Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all consolation."[e] The

[a] See *Remarks on the Uses of the Definite Article in the Gr. Text of New Test. by Granville Sharp,* and *Six Letters to G. Sharp, respecting his Remarks,* Lond. 1802. [b] Rom. iv, 5. [c] xvi, 7. [d] 1 Cor. xi, 29. [e] 2 Cor. i, 3.

phrase, Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ, which, in point of grammatical construction, perfectly resembles the combination, in Tit. ii, 13, of Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ, is, in its various cases, of frequent occurrence in Paul's epistles.[a] Ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος καὶ δοὺς. "He that sealed and gave."[b] Τῷ θριαμβεύοντι καὶ φανεροῦντι. "To him that causes to triumph and makes manifest."[c] Τοῦ καταλλάξαντος καὶ δόντος. "Of him who reconciled and gave."[d] Οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι. "They who disturb and wish to overturn you."[e] Ὁ δὲ ἀφορίσας με καὶ καλέσας. "He who hath separated and called me"[f] Τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς. "To those who are saints and believers."[g] Ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. "He who is over all, and through all, and in you all."[h] Here ἐπὶ πάντων, &c. have the force of simple attributives. Τυχικὸς Ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος. "Tychichus, the beloved brother and faithful minister."[i] Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην Ἐπαφρόδιτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον, καὶ λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου, πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. "But I deemed it necessary to send unto you, Epaphroditus my brother and fellow-soldier, but your messenger and the minister to my need."[k] Τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ διάκονον καὶ συνεργὸν. "The brother, and minister, and helper."[l] Ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος. "He that opposeth and lifteth up himself."[m] Τοῦ σώσαντος, καὶ καλέσαντος. "Of him who hath saved and called."[n] Τοῖς δὲ μεμιασμένοις καὶ ἀπίστοις. "To those who are defiled and unbelieving."[o] Τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα. "Our apostle and high priest,"[p]

[a] See Rom. xv, 6; 1 Cor. xv, 24; Phil. iv, 20; Col. i, 3; 1 Thes. i, 3. [b] 2 Cor. i, 22. [c] ii, 14. [d] v, 18. [e] Gal. i, 7. [f] i, 15. [g] Eph. i, 1, and Coloss. i, 2. [h] Eph, iv, 6. [i] vi, 21. [k] Phil. ii, 25. [l] 1 Thess. iii, 2. [m] 2 Thess. ii, 4. [n] 2 Tim. i, 9. [o] Tit. i, 15. [p] Heb. iii, 1.

Τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις. "To those who are ignorant and deceived."[a] Τὸ δὲ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον. "That which decayeth and waxeth old."[b]

These numerous and perfectly applicable examples, together with the fact that not a single contradictory one can be discovered in the apostle's writings, afford the most ample evidence, that it was habitual with him to observe the first part of the rule, viz. "That when two or more attributives, joined by a copulative or copulatives, are assumed of the SAME person or thing, persons or things, the article is inserted before the first of such attributives, but is not repeated before the remaining ones."

On the other hand, when the apostle assumes common attributives in the singular number, of different persons or things, he uniformly repeats the article; thus observing the second branch of the rule. The following examples will suffice. Ἄρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος, οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος Θεοῦ. "Therefore it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy."[c] Ὁ φυτεύων καὶ Ὁ ποτίζων, ἕν εἰσιν. "He that planteth and he that watereth are one; i.e. equal."[d] Μείζων γὰρ Ὁ προφητεύων ἢ Ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσαις. "Greater is he that prophesies, than he who speaketh with tongues."[e] Τὸ αὐλούμενον ἢ τὸ κιθαριζόμενον. "That which is sounded by the pipe, or that which is sounded by the harp."[f] Τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα. "His father and his mother."[g] Ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, καὶ Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν. "The Lord Jesus Christ, and God, even our Father."[h] Even when his attributives are proper names, the apostle is careful to observe the rule. Thus we read Τῆς

[a] Heb. v, 2. [b] viii, 13. [c] Rom. ix, 16. [d] 1 Cor. iii, 8. [e] xiv, 5. [f] ver. 7. [g] Eph. v, 31. [h] 2 Thess. ii, 16.

Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας. "Of Syria and Cilicia."[a] Τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ. "To Abraham and to his seed."[b] Ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ. "In Macedonia and Achaia."[c] Τὸν Ἰακὼβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ. "Jacob and Esau."[d] Also in the case of plural attributives, he almost always repeats the article. Οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Κυρίου. "The other apostles and the brethren of the Lord."[e] Τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα. "Things visible and things invisible."[f] Τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι Θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσι τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. "To those who know not God, and to those who obey not the Gospel."[g] Even when the nouns are not attributives, but the names of substances or abstract ideas, and when therefore the omission of the article could not possibly have occasioned any obscurity, this Hellenistic writer generally maintains the same form of speech, as τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα. "Justice and equality."[h] Τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην. "Faith and love."[i] Τῆς ῥίζης καὶ τῆς πιότητος. "Of the root and fatness."[k]

Let us now apply our premises to the expressions employed by the apostle in Tit. ii, 13. τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. It seems scarcely possible that any reasonable critic, who has reflected on the principles of our rule, and remarked the *familiar uniformity* with which the apostle Paul observes it, can hesitate in acknowledging that these words are capable of being rendered only as relating to one person—"OF OUR GREAT GOD AND SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST." The text is precisely pa-

[a] Gal. i, 21. [b] iii, 16. [c] 1 Thess. i, 7. [d] Heb. xi, 20. [e] 1 Cor. ix, 5. [f] Col. i, 16. [g] 2 Thess. i, 8, &c. &c. [h] Col. iv, 1. [i] 1 Thess. iii, 6. [k] Rom. xi, 17, &c. &c.

rallel, in point of grammatical construction, with those numerous other passages, in which the apostle assumes two or more attributives relating to the same person or thing, and in which therefore, he employs the article only before the first attributive. If any reliance is to be placed either on the common principles of grammar, or on the known practice of this writer, we may rest assured, that had he here intended to apply Θεοῦ and Σωτῆρος to different persons, he would have prefixed the article to the latter as well as to the former attributive. There is nothing which can except either of these substantives from the operation of the rule. They are the names neither of abstract ideas nor of substances. They are neither plurals nor proper names. They are common attributives in the singular number, conspicuously subject to the operation of the rule; nor could the apostle in such an example, have sacrificed his well known method of composition, without involving himself in a degree of obscurity and ambiguity, (and that on a doctrinal point of supreme importance) to which I apprehend that his writings afford no parallel.[5] Those who would support the supposition of his having here intended to convey the idea that the Great God, and our Saviour,

[5] That Θεὸς, in this passage, is not a proper name, is evinced by the accompanying adjective μεγάλου, which implies comparison: *comp.* 1 Cor. viii, 5, 6. Middleton assures us that "this word never uses its licence with respect to the article in such a way as to interfere with the construction usual in the case of the most common appellatives:" p. 525. Were it possible that any doubt could be entertained respecting the compatibility of the joint terms Θεὸς and Σωτὴρ, to describe a single person, that doubt must be removed by the form τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ, which occurs twice in this very epistle: i, 3, iii, 4. Neither can it be denied that each of these terms is distinctly and repeatedly used in the New Testament, as descriptive of the Son of God. for Θεὸς see John i, 1; xx, 28; Rom. ix, 5: Heb. i, 8. For Σωτὴρ see John iv, 42; Acts xiii, 23; Phil. iii, 20, &c.

were *not* the same person, must allow that he has, for this purpose, expressed himself in terms which would naturally impress on the minds of any native Greek reader, *a precisely opposite doctrine.* But such an allowance will surely be made by no one, who fairly appreciates Paul in the character either of a sensible writer, or of an inspired apostle.

Such are the substantial reasons of a grammatical kind, for our rendering the apostle's words τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "Of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." Independently, however, of grammatical evidence, this version is plainly supported by the context. The whole drift of the apostle's sentence seems to evince that he has only one person here in view—even Jesus Christ, "who gave *himself* for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify *unto himself* a peculiar people zealous of good works." Accordingly the words ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης, "glorious appearing,"[6] are exclusively applicable to the Son of God, properly appertaining to his *relative* position in the economy of grace and salvation. It would be at variance with the harmony of Christian doctrine, as it is revealed in the New Testament, and particularly in the epistles of Paul, to speak of the "*glorious appearing*" of the Father, that blessed and only Potentate "whom *no man hath seen nor can see.*"[a] The Father is made mani-

[a] 1 Tim. vi, 15, 16.

[6] That this is the true version of the Greek words, ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης, is evinced by the comparison of Rom. viii, 21, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης, "the glorious liberty:" 2 Cor. iv, 4, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης, "of the glorious gospel:" Phil. iii, 21, τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης, "his glorious body:" Col. i, 11, τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης, "his glorious power:" and 1 Tim. i, 11, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης, "the glorious gospel."

fest to mankind only in the Son, who is the "*Image* of the *invisible* God;[a] and as it is the Son alone who hath already *appeared* to bring "life and immortality to light through the Gospel," and to "put away sin by the sacrifice of himself,"[b] so, from various passages of Scripture, we are led to conclude that it is the Son alone who in the great day of retribution "shall *appear* the second time without sin (i.e. without a *sin offering)* unto salvation."[c] Accordingly the word here rendered "appearing," is uniformly employed by this apostle (who alone, of all the writers of the New Testament, has made use of it) to denote either the first or the second coming of Jesus Christ; and the comparison of 2 Thess. ii, 8; 1 Tim. vi, 14; 2 Tim. iv, 1, in particular, with the passage now before us, will be found to afford a strong confirming evidence, that by the "glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour," is here intended the visible coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in glory, for the salvation of his people, and for the judgment of all mankind."[d]

It only remains for us to inquire in what sense this passage of Scripture was understood by the ancient fathers of the church. On this subject we are provided with ample and satisfactory information, in a pamphlet entitled "*Six Letters to Granville Sharp,*" and ascribed to Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. This elaborate enquirer has selected a vast number of passages from the works of both the Greek and Latin fathers, in which a reference is made to our text; and the result of his investigations is this—that with the single exception of the deacon Hilary, a *La-*

[a] Col. i, 15. [b] 2 Tim. i, 10; Heb. ix, 26. [c] Heb. ix, 28.
[d] See *Essay* x, p. iii; 12mo. p. 359.

tin authority of little weight—*all* the ancient ecclesiastical writers, who have expressed any judgment on the subject, interpret the terms τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος, as *jointly* relating to Jesus Christ. And this they do as a matter of course; never hinting at any difference of opinion on the subject, but arguing from the text *thus interpreted,* on the implied supposition that it was confessedly capable of no other signification. Even the Arians, although they endeavoured to elude the force of the words "great God," admitted that these words were here applied by the apostle to Jesus Christ. "Est autem filius," said Maximin, the Arian bishop, as quoted by Augustine, "secundum apostolum non pusillus sed magnus Deus, sicut ait beatus Paullus, 'Expectantes,' &c."[a] The most important witnesses, thus cited by Wordsworth, are the *Greek* fathers: particularly Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 194[7]) Hyppolytus (A.D. 220) Athanasius (A.D. 326) Epiphanius (A.D. 390) Basil (A.D. 370) Gregory Nyssen (A.D. 370) Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 370) Chrysostom (A.D. 386) Theodoret (A.D. 423) Cyril Alex. (A.D. 412) Œcumenius (A.D. 900) and Theophylact (A.D. 1077).[b]

[a] See *Six Letters,* Letter V. pp. 95, 96. [b] Letter V. pp. 65—104.

[7] In quoting Clement of Alexandria, Dr. Wordsworth says, "I shall be contented to transcribe him for his antiquity; and not stop to enquire whether one might not also justly claim from him that interpretation which we are in quest of;" p. 67. The candour of this author is here carried a little too far, for it seems abundantly clear that Clement quoted the passage in the sense adopted by G. Sharp and his followers.

"Now," says Clement, "this WORD, who alone is both GOD and man, the author of all our blessings, by whom we are taught to live well, and are thus made heirs of eternal life, ἐπεφάνη 'hath appeared:' according to the great apostle who says"—(he here quotes Tit. ii, 12, 13, concluding with the words ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.) "This (he adds) is the new song, the *appearing* which hath now shone forth amongst us of the WORD who preexisted—who was in the beginning." *Cohort. ad Gentes.*

I am well aware, that authority with respect to *interpretation* is, in general, of very inferior importance to authority with respect to *reading*; but when we consider, on the one hand, that Greek was the native language of these writers, and that they were familiar with all the common rules of its construction; and, on the other hand, that the question here depends upon one of these rules—we cannot do otherwise than acknowledge, that such authority, under such circumstances, is of *very considerable* weight and value. When, indeed, it is taken in connexion with the whole preceding chain of evidence, it may fairly be considered *conclusive.*

On the review of the present essay, I think it must be admitted by every candid inquirer, that the evidence afforded by this passage for the divinity of Christ, is by no means of that technical and unsubstantial character which some persons have ascribed to it. It is easy to object to the deduction of an important doctrine, from the use or disuse of so small a part of speech as the article. But since the article in Greek, like other parts of speech, is subject to known laws—since those laws are founded on intelligible principles—since the particular law which elucidates this passage is, within certain limitations, universally observed (namely, in classical Greek writings, in the New Testament, and especially by Paul himself)—and since the meaning thus grammatically deduced, is required by the context, and is supported by the unanimous authority of the Greek fathers,—the objection (in the present instance at least) falls to the ground. From the whole investigation the Christian student will, I trust, derive a *confirmed* conviction, that Jesus is not only OUR SAVIOUR, but OUR GOD.

There are several other passages of the New Testament in which, on the same principles, it appears that Jesus Christ is denominated GOD.

In Eph. v, 5, the words ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ, are rendered in E. T. "in the kingdom of Christ and of God;" but in pursuance of the rule now stated, and on the supposition that Χριστὸς, with the article prefixed, is here employed, according to its common usage, to designate the *office* of Jesus, it is clear that these words ought rather to be translated, "in the kingdom of *him*, who is Christ and God;" or more freely "in *his* kingdom, who is Christ and God." It appears from Wordsworth's collection of authorities, that this passage, though variously understood by the Latins, is quoted in proof of the deity of Christ, by several of the *Greek* Fathers; and as the result of his investigation, he observes that no other interpretation than that proposed by G. Sharp, was "ever heard of in all the Greek churches." As a further proof that the Greek Fathers thus interpreted the passage, and that the proposed version presents the true and *obvious* meaning of the apostle's words, he states this remarkable fact—that, in his perusal of the works of those writers, he observed, independently of direct quotations of Eph. v, 5, more than *one thousand* instances of the form Ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς, and that in all cases where the exact sense of the words could be determined, this phrase was the description of *one* person; i. e. of Jesus Christ.

In 2 Pet. i, 1, we find the following expressions; ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. These words are rendered ambiguously in E. T. "through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ," but may rather be translated, "through the righteousness of our God and Saviour, Jesus

Christ." The latter version is evidently required by our rule, which applies, in full force, to the apostle's words. That version, according to Cruttwell, (as quoted by Sharp) was adopted by Wickliffe, Coverdale, Matthews, Cranmer, in the Bishops,' the Geneva, and the Rhenish, bibles; but does not happen to be confirmed by the testimony of the fathers, who seldom quote from the second epistle of Peter, and who appear to have made no reference whatever to the passage before us. The interpretation, however, which the rule respecting the Greek article so plainly requires, is in this instance supported by collateral evidence in the epistle itself; for the apostle has three times applied to Jesus Christ, the similar form of Ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ.[a] In the first of these examples, the pronoun ἡμῶν is placed precisely as in ch. i, 1—τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; "the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

In 2 Thess. i, 12, and in 1 Tim. v, 21, we read τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; and Sharp here understands both Θεοῦ and Κυρίου as relating to Jesus Christ. Since the apostle Paul so generally uses the term Κύριος, as specifically relating to our Saviour, and as even distinguishing him from the Father, Dr. Middleton is of opinion, that it here assumes, in connexion with "Jesus Christ," the force of a proper name; and is therefore doubtful whether, in these examples, Sharp's principle of interpretation can be properly applied. We have seen however, that even with respect to proper names, the apostle is accustomed to observe the rule; so that had he here intended to apply Θεοῦ and Κυρίου to different persons, he would in all probability,

[a] Vid. chap. i, 11; ii, 20; iii, 2.

have expressed the article before each of them. I conceive, therefore, that the true version of these expressions is, "Of our God and Lord, Jesus Christ."

Sharp's remaining example is in Jude 4. "For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and *denying the only Lord, God and our Lord Jesus Christ.*" The Greek of this last clause, is τὸν μόνον δεσπότην Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι. Griesbach, on the authority of the Alexandrine and some other MSS., of the Vulgate and Armenian versions, and of a few fathers, excludes from this passage, the word Θεὸς. But that word is read in the Syriac and Coptic versions, in the generality of MSS., and by Œcumenius. On the supposition of its genuineness, it appears, from the principles now laid down, that the clause ought to be rendered, "Denying our only sovereign God and Lord, Jesus Christ." This version is confirmed by the internal evidence of the passage. Although these wicked intruders in the church, turned the grace of God into lasciviousness, we have every reason to suppose, that they professed to be worshippers of the Father. He whom they denied was Jesus Christ, whose divinity they rejected, and whose sacrifice on the cross they despised. This appears from the comparison of 1 Pet. ii, 1, where an allusion seems to be made to the same sort of heretics. 'But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, *even denying the Lord that bought them.*"[a]

[a] See also Heb. x, 29.

No. 21.

Christ who, in his human nature, descended from the Jews, is "over all, God blessed for ever."

THIS essential doctrine of the Christian religion—a doctrine on which the whole system of man's redemption may be said to depend—is plainly declared by the apostle Paul, in his epistle to the Romans. After expressing his "great heaviness and continual sorrow" of heart, on account of the infidelity of his countrymen the Jews, he pursues the subject as follows: "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites; to whom (pertaineth) the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, *and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever*."[a]

The original of verse 5, which contains this explicit declaration of the deity of Jesus Christ, is as follows: Ὧν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

A careful examination of the evidences which relate to the subject will, I trust, serve to convince every impartial examiner, that this verse cannot be otherwise *read*, or, in any material respect, otherwise *rendered*, without sacrificing the sound and acknowledged laws of biblical criticism.

[a] Rom. ix, 3—5.

First, with respect to *reading*. The correctness of the Greek text of this passage, like that of John i, 1, is, in the most satisfactory manner, confirmed by the *unanimous* testimony of manuscripts, versions, and fathers.

On a reference to Mill, Wetstein, Matthæi, and Griesbach—the four great examiners of the MSS. of the New Testament—we find that the words of the present text are supported, without variation, by all collated MSS. of whatever date or description; except only that the Augian and Boernerian MSS., (the F and G of Griesbach,) omit three comparatively unimportant words; viz., *οἱ* before *πατέρες*, *καὶ* before *ἐξ ὧν*, and *τὸ* before *κατὰ σάρκα*. The most essential word in the passage, as it relates to Christian doctrine, is obviously Θεὸς, which, so far as the evidence of MSS. is concerned, stands absolutely unimpeached.

The same may be said of the evidence of the ancient versions, which (notwithstanding Grotius's assertion of the contrary respecting the Syriac Peshito) *all* support the word Θεὸς, and *all* present an interpretation *essentially* the same as that of our received version.

The ancient versions of the passage to which I have access, are as follows:

Syriac Peshito. "Et ex quibus apparuit Christus in carne, qui est Deus super omnia; cui sint laudes et benedictiones in seculum seculorum." Amen.

Syriac Philox. "Et ex quibus Christus quod ad carnem, qui est, super omnia, Deus benedictus in secula."

Œthiopic. "Et ex illis natus est Christus secundum carnem hominis, qui est Deus benedictus in secula."

Arabic Polyg. "Et ex quibus est Christus, quantum attinet ad carnem, qui est immobiliter super omnia, Deus benedictus in secula."

Vulgate. "Et ex quibus est Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus, benedictus in secula."

The Sahidic version is deficient in this part of Paul's epistles. Mill quotes the Coptic and Armenian versions, as supporting the same reading and interpretation of the passage, as those of the Syriac, Vulgate, &c.

On the whole, therefore, it appears, that the critical examination of the MSS. and ancient versions of the New Testament, which has been pursued during the last forty years, has served only to confirm the declaration which Michaelis made respecting this memorable passage, in the year 1790; namely, that "no various reading of it has been discovered in any one of the numerous manuscripts, or in any one of the ancient versions of the New Testament."[a] Michaelis goes on to assert, that no various reading of this passage exists in the writings either of any ancient heretic, or of any father of the church; and notwithstanding the insinuations to the contrary of Erasmus, Dr. S. Clarke, Wetstein, and the editors of U. N. V., this assertion also, *as far as relates to every thing essential in our text*, is undeniably true.

In order to establish this point, it is necessary for us to enter with some degree of minuteness, into the examination of the subject; and especially of the objections made by the writers to whom we have now alluded. The editors of U. N. V. observe, in their note on this passage, that the "word *God* appears to have been wanting in Chrysostom's and some other ancient copies;" a notion which they might probably borrow from Grotius, who, after stating that Θεὸς is omitted in the Syriac version, (an assertion without foundation,) adds, "Et sic fuisse in vetustis codd. Cy-

[a] In loc. vol. vi, part III, p. 96.

priani, sic etiam legisse Hilarium, nec aliter videri legisse Chrysostomum voluit Erasmus." Grotius has here exaggerated the statement of Erasmus, who indeed observes that Cyprian, in his Treatise against the Jews, and Hilary, in his exposition of the 122nd Psalm, have, in their quotation of this passage, omitted the word Θεὸς; but says nothing of any "ancient MSS." of Cyprian, which support that omission, and fairly owns, that, in Hilary, it could have arisen only from the carelessness of the transcriber. With respect to Chrysostom, the allegation of Erasmus is simply this—that, in his commentary on the passage, (although he quotes it with the word Θεὸς,) he does not dwell on the doctrine of the deity of Christ, but simply on that of his being the object of glorification —εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας— that *he gives no proof therefore* of his having read Θεὸς, which word might possibly have been afterwards added to his text "a studioso quopiam."[a] Such is the easy progress of error in biblical criticism! The *fact* is, however, that Cyprian, Hilary, and Chrysostom, all of them read Θεὸς in Rom. ix, 5.

Cyprian in the passage alluded to by Erasmus, quotes Rom. ix, 5, (with other parts of Scripture where Christ is called God,) for the express purpose of proving, *quod Christus Deus sit.* Although therefore, in some inferior editions of his works, (those of Spires and Aremboldus, and an anonymous one,) the word *Deus* is omitted, there can be no reasonable question of Cyprian's having read Θεὸς. Accordingly Mill informs us, that in three very ancient MSS. of Cyprian, existing at Oxford, the word *Deus* is found. Fell says the same of all the MSS. which *he* consulted; and we read

[a] See *Erasmus* in loc. Op. tom. vi, p. 611.

that word in his edition of the father, as well as in those of Manutius and Morelius.

Hilary, in his Commentary on the 122nd Psalm, quotes this passage, with John i, 1, in proof of the deity of Christ; and expressly rests his argument on this very word *Deus*, which is found in the Benedictine edition of his works, and cannot be otherwise than genuine.[a]

Lastly, Chrysostom, who in his commentary on Rom. ix, 5, happens to insist on the glorification, rather than the deity, of Christ,[1] did nevertheless unquestionably read Θεὸς; for not only is the word there found is the text, but in other parts of his works, he quotes the same passage, for the purpose of showing that the *name of God* belongs to the Son, as well as to the Father. Thus when commenting on 1 Cor. viii, 6, ("But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we of him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him") he remarks, that the titles God and Lord, as applied to the Father and to the Son, are in Scripture frequently interchanged; and he adduces Psalm cx, 1, to

[a] *Ed. Ben.* p. 393.

1 Chrysostom's Note on Rom. ix, 4, 5, is well worthy of attention. Ἐκεῖνα τίθησιν ἅπερ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾶς ἐνδείκτικα μόνον οὐκ ἐκείνων ἐγκώμια· καὶ γὰρ ἡ υἱοθεσία τῆς αὐτοῦ γέγονε χάριτος καὶ ἡ δόξα, καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, καὶ ὁ νόμος· ἅπερ ἅπαντα ἐννοήσας καὶ λογισάμενος πόσην ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ τοῦ Παιδὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν σπουδὴν σῶσαι αὐτοὺς, ἀνεβόησε μέγα καὶ εἶπεν, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν· τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχαριστίαν ἀναφέρων αὐτὸς τῷ μονογενεῖ τοῦ Θεοῦ. "He mentions these things as indicative of God's gift, and not as encomiums upon *them*, (the Jews.) For the "adoption" was of his grace as well as the "glory," and the "promises," and the "law." When viewing all these things, and reflecting on the care which the Father, *with the Son*, had taken to save them, he cries out aloud and says, 'who is blessed for ever, Amen,'—thus rendering thanks for all these mercies to the ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD." *Ed. Ben.* tom. ix, p. 607.

show that the Father is called *Lord*, and Rom. ix, 5, to prove that the Son is denominated *God*.[a]

Thus satisfactorily is overturned the objection of Erasmus and his followers, respecting the omission of Θεὸς in this passage by Cyprian, Hilary, and Chrysostom.

It is necessary, however, to advert to another objection, in point of *authority*, which has been advanced against the commonly received reading and interpretation of Rom. ix, 5. The editors of U. N. V. inform us, that there are "early christian writers, who do not apply these works to Christ, but pronounce it to be rashness and impiety to say that Christ was God over all." Griesbach also, in his note on the passage, speaks of "many fathers" who deny that Christ can be rightly called ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς.

The writers to whom Griesbach and the editors allude are quoted by Clarke,[b] and still more at large by Wetstein, whose curious note on this passage demands our particular attention. This elaborate critic being at once *unable* to adduce a single direct authority against the commonly-received reading of Rom. ix, 5, and *unwilling* to admit a text so directly opposed to his own religious system, (that of the Arians,) cites a variety of passages, to prove that the early Christians did not admit the doctrine that Christ is ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, and hence he draws the inference, that they could not have read or interpreted Rom. ix, 5, as we do in the present day. The authorities which he quotes, though few in number, are remarkably various—genu-

[a] In 1 *Ep. ad Cor. Hom.* xx, Ed. Ben. tom. x, p. 172; see also *Tract. de Dei Natura*, tom. i, p. 483, et passim. [b] *On the Trin.* No. 539.

ine and supposititious, orthodox and heretical, Christian and even heathen. They are as follows: Pseudo-Ignatius, the author of Constitutiones Apostolicæ, Origen, Eusebius, Pseudo-Athanasius, Eunomius, Basil, Gregory of Nysse, and the emperor Julian! These authorities may now be severally examined.

In the epistle to the *Tarsians*, bearing the name of Ignatius,—a spurious work, supposed to have been written in the *sixth* century,[a]—mention is made of the "*servants of Satan*," some of whom asserted "that Jesus was crucified, and died only in appearance;" others, that "he is not truly the Son of the Creator;" and others, lastly, that he "is himself ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς," that is, the *Father*.[b] This writer refutes the last-mentioned heresy as follows: καὶ ὅτι οὐκ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ, ἀλλ' υἱὸς ἐκείνου, λέγει, Ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, καὶ Θεόν μου καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῶν, κ.τ.λ. Οὐκοῦν ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ ὑποτάξας, καὶ ὢν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι· καὶ ἕτερος ᾧ ὑπετάγη, ὃς καὶ μετὰ πάντων ὑποτάσσεται. "And that he is not God over all, *even the Father*, but his Son, is proved by his saying, 'I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and unto my God and your God, &c.' Therefore He who put (all things) under him, and who is all in all, is one Person; and He to whom (all things) were subjected, but who, with all things, is himself subject (to the Father,) is another Person."[c] There is a somewhat similar passage in the *interpolated* epistle of Ignatius to the Philippians, a treatise of which the express purpose is to prove that Jesus is truly God as well as man, *and yet distinct from the Father*.[d]

The Constitutiones Apostolicæ are allowed to be a

[a] Vid. *Cave Hist. Litt.* tom. i, p. 20. [b] Vid. cap. 2. [c] Vid. cap. 5. [d] Vid. cap. 7.

spurious work; and although they were probably the production either of the third or fourth century, they are supposed to have been interpolated at a later date. They contain a passage of precisely the same character as that cited from Pseudo-Ignatius, viz. in lib. vi, cap. 26, where an accusation is preferred, first, against the heretics who deemed our Lord to be a mere man, and denied his Sonship and preexistence; and secondly, against those who confounded him with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Respecting the latter, we find the following remarks: *Ἕτεροι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν ὑποπτεύουσιν, αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα δοξάζοντες, αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ παράκλητον ὑποπτεύοντες, ὧν τί ἂν εἴη ἐναγέστερον;* "But others amongst them suppose Jesus to be God over all, regarding him as his own Father, considering him also to be both the Son and the Comforter, than which heresy what can be more profane?"

. Origen, in his VIIIth book against Celsus, introduces his opponent as accusing the Christians of regarding Jesus Christ, not as the Son of God, according to their profession, but as being himself God the Father of all, or *greater than the Father.* In reply to this allegation, he writes as follows: *Ἔστω δέ τινας ὡς ἐν πλήθει πιστευόντων καὶ δεχομένων διαφωνίαν, διὰ τὴν προπέτειαν ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν Σωτῆρα τὸν μέγιστον*[2] *ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν· ἀλλ' οὔτι γε ἡμεῖς τοιοῦτον οἱ πειθόμενοι αὐτῷ λέγοντι, Ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ πέμψας με μείζων μου ἐστί· διόπερ οὐχ ὃν νῦν πατέρα καλοῦμεν, ὑποβάλλομεν, ὡς Κέλσος ἡμᾶς συκοφαντεῖ, τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ.* "Although amongst the multitude of believers who entertain different sentiments, some through

2 The word *μέγιστον* is here omitted by Wetstein, and is not found in some of the editions of Origen; but in the Benedictine Edition it is introduced on good authority.

a hasty zeal, may affirm that our Saviour is the greatest God above all, yet *we* do not make such an assertion; since we are guided by Christ himself, who said, 'the Father who sent me is greater than I.' We do not, therefore, as Celsus charges us, make Him whom we call the Father, *inferior to the Son of God.*"[a] Afterwards he adds: Κρατεῖν δέ φαμεν τὸν Σωτῆρα μάλισα ὅτε νοοῦμεν αὐτὸν Θεὸν λόγον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλήθειαν, πάντων μὲν τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος αὐτὸν Πατρὸς καὶ Θεοῦ. "When we regard our Saviour as God the Word, as Wisdom, as Righteousness, and as Truth, we acknowledge that he has supreme power over all those things which are placed under him, but not over God the Father, to whose power he is himself subject."[b]

Eusebius, in his controversy against Marcellus, accuses his opponent of heretical doctrine, because he asserted that Jesus Christ was ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς. From various passages in the work of this writer, it is evident, that while on the one hand he avows his belief that Christ is God—on the other, he habitually uses the phrase ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, as the *peculiar* title of the Father. Accordingly he objects to the application of this title by Marcellus to Jesus Christ, as denoting the heresy of Sabellius, who taught that there was no distinction between the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, and that Jesus was the Father himself incarnate. A single specimen of the mode in which he treated this subject will suffice.[c] Εἰ δὲ οὖν ἓν καὶ ταυτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ Λόγος, ὡς δοκεῖ Μαρκέλλῳ, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρθένῳ γενόμενος, καὶ σαρκωθεὶς, καὶ ἐναθρωπήσας, καὶ παθὼν τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα, καὶ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς· ὃ δὴ τολμήσαντα φᾶναι τὸν Σαβέλ-

[a] Cap. xiv. [b] Cap. xv. [c] Vid. *Eccles. Theol.* ii, 4.

λιον ἡ ἐκκλήσια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἀθέοις καὶ βλασφήμοις ἐγκατέλεξεν· "If, therefore, God and his Word were absolutely identical, as Marcellus supposes, he who was born of the holy virgin took flesh, became a man, and suffered the things which were written concerning him, and who died for our sins, was himself God over all, (that is, *the Father*,)—a doctrine for the utterance of which Sabellius was reckoned by the church of God amongst ungodly men and blasphemers."[3]

From Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory Nyssen, Wetstein quotes passages in which they apply the title ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς to God the Father, without any denial of the same honour to the Son. Such quotations are of course irrelevant; and, in point of fact, these writers, as we shall afterwards find occasion to observe, have severally quoted Rom. ix, 5, in the commonly received form and sense.

[3] It is somewhat remarkable that, notwithstanding the distinction made by Eusebius between God the Word, and God *over all*, even the Father, he has described the persecuted Christians of Phrygia as, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπικοωμένους, calling upon Christ as *God over all*. Vid. *Ecc. Hist.* lib. viii, 11. Clarke and Wetstein conjecture that this passage is corrupted or interpolated; but for such a notion there is no authority. The probability appears to be that Eusebius here describes a *fact;* and that the Phrygian Christians entertained sounder views of doctrine than Eusebius himself.

There is a passage in Tertullian's work against Praxeas, quoted by Clarke, but unnoticed by Wetstein, which may be regarded as of the same class, in point of meaning. Speaking of the sentiments of that heretic, he says, "Itaque post tempus Pater natus et Pater passus, ipse Deus Dominus omnipotens, Jesus Christus prædicatur." Then he states the doctrine of the Christians as follows: "Nos vero et semper et nunc magis ut instructiores per Paracletum deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis, unicum quidem Deum credimus: sub hac tamen dispensatione quam οἰκονομίαν dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius sermo ejus, *qui ex ipso processerit*, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil." That Tertullian had here no view to undermine the doctrine of the deity of Christ as set forth in Rom. ix, 5, is evident from his quoting that very passage, in proof of the propriety of describing Christ by the name of God: vid. cap. ii and xiii.

Wetstein's remaining authorities are, Pseudo-Athanasius, Eunomius, and the emperor Julian.

Pseudo-Athanasius is cited by Wetstein, as saying, περὶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν τὸν σταυρώθεντα φοβοῦμαι λέγειν—"I am afraid to assert that the crucified one is God over all." These words are extracted from a spurious disputation, probably composed by some monk, of no very ancient date, but pretended to have been held between Athanasius and Arius, before the council of Nice. That such a work is of little authority in the present question, is obvious; but it is curious enough that the words which Wetstein has here cited, as spoken by Pseudo-Athanasius, are in fact the words of Pseudo-*Arius*, in reply to the quotation by Pseudo-*Athanasius* of Rom. ix, 5, *as a proof of the supreme deity of Christ.*[a]

Eunomius, a noted opposer of the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, who lived in the fourth century, is cited by Gregory of Nysse, as denying that "any one who had a right understanding of truth, would denominate the supreme God (τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν) a Son, or a man born." The emperor Julian, lastly, as we are informed by Cyril of Alexandria, declared that neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Mark, dared to call Jesus God, but only the good John—ὁ χρηστὸς Ἰωάννης. Now that these cursory remarks, made by the heretic and unbeliever, afford no evidence that Rom. ix, 5, was not read or interpreted in their day, as it is now by the generality of Christians, is unquestionable. For this very passage is adduced by Gregory, in his controversy with Eunomius, as containing a plain proof of the deity of Christ; and by Cyril, in his reply to Julian,

[a] Vid. *Athanas. Op.* Ed. Colon. tom. i, 125, *a*.

as clearly refuting the rash assertion of the infidel emperor.[a]

"Si ita locum interpretati sunt veteres ut hodie solent, (says Wetstein, after having produced this motley list of authorities,) quomodo fieri potuit ut non hæretici solum, verum etiam patres tanta confidentia appellationem τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ tam Patri propriam, quam ipsum Patris et omnipotentis nomen pronunciarent?" That there is nothing in Wetstein's quotations which can justify the confident tone of this enquiry, must be evident to every impartial examiner of the preceding detail. When we lay aside such of Wetstein's authorities as are null and void;—viz. Athanasius, Gregory, and Basil, who are witnesses on the other side; and Eunomius, and Julian, whose unscriptural assertions were no sooner made than refuted—these authorities are reduced to Pseudo-Ignatius, the author of the Constitutiones, Origen, and Eusebius. Now, were the doctrine contained in Rom. ix, 5, (as now read and interpreted,) ever so much at variance with the declared sentiments of these authors, we should still be left without any proof, or even any fair presumption, that this text was otherwise read or interpreted by the ancients *generally*. There would not be any solid reason for our concluding that this was the fact, as it relates to *these writers themselves;* for they might either overlook the words of the apostle, to which, in the passages cited, they make no kind of allusion; or, what is still more probable, they might intentionally omit to notice a text of scripture, which contradicted their own opinions.

[a] Vid. *Greg. Nyss. contra Eunom. Orat.* x, Ed. Paris. A.D. 1638, tom. ii, 693, *c.* et *Cyril. Alex. contra Julian.* lib. x, Ed. Aubert. tom. vi, p. 328, *b.*

But the supposed contradiction between the doctrine of Rom. ix, 5, and the sentiment which these authors evidently intended to express, is to a great extent, merely *apparent* and *imaginary*. I am aware that some obscurity is to be observed in the views of both Origen and Eusebius concerning the person of Christ; and also that a semi-heretical hand has been discovered by the learned, in the spurious and interpolated parts of the epistles ascribed to Ignatius. It may be allowed that the expressions which these authors have employed, in the passages cited by Wetstein, are liable to misconstruction, and are on the whole far from unexceptionable. At the same time, it is abundantly proved by the context, that when they objected to the doctrine that Jesus Christ was ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, or ὁ μέγιστος ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, they were opposing a well-known heresy of ancient times, and intended to assert *only* that Jesus Christ was not "*his own Father*,"[a] that he was not "*the same as his Father*,"[b] that he was not "*greater than his Father*."[c] Now, since it is certain that Rom. ix, 5, as it is usually read and interpreted, contains no such doctrine as that Christ was his own Father, or the same as his Father, or greater than his Father,—since we may rest assured that it has never been so understood by any sound Christian either ancient or modern,—the whole of Wetstein's argument falls to the ground. Between the *professed meaning* of Pseudo-Ignatius, Origen, and Eusebius, (however objectionable may be their mode of expressing it,) and the doctrine of Paul that Christ is "over all, God blessed for ever," there is no real disagreement.

Origen, as we have seen, takes notice of certain per-

[a] *Constitut. Ap.* [b] *Ep. ad Tars.* and *Euseb.* [c] *Origen.*

sons who pretended to believe that God, the Father Almighty—was *inferior* to the Son. But the heretics, against whom Eusebius, Pseudo-Ignatius, and the author of the Constitutiones, aimed their remarks, were those who asserted that there existed no distinction between the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; and that the Father himself was born a child into the world, and suffered on the cross. This heresy was of a very early origin in the church. It is supposed to have sprung up among the other wild notions of the Gnostics, whose founder, Simon Magus, (as Irenæus informs us,) declared himself to be to the Jews, the Son,—to the Samaritans, the Father,—and to the Gentile nations, the Holy Spirit.[a] In the second century these unscriptural doctrines were taught by Praxeas of Asia, and the Monarchists; and in the third century, by Noetus of Smyrna or Ephesus, A.D. 220, and by Sabellius of Ptolemais in Lybia, A.D. 225. From the last person, the heresy which confused the personal characters of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, derived its well known name of *Sabellianism.*

Although no sound Christian has ever interpreted Rom. ix, 5, as declarative of such a doctrine, it is not surprising that some of these heretics should have endeavoured to pervert that important passage, so as to serve their own purposes. Accordingly we find from Hyppolytus and Epiphanius, that Noetus and his followers adduced Rom. ix, 5, as affording an evidence that Christ was the *Father himself.* The passage in Hyppolytus is curious, and the answer given to the heretic by that writer, sets the whole subject in a clear light. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἦν Θεὸς καὶ ἔπασχεν δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ὢν Πατὴρ, ἵνα καὶ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς δυνηθῇ. Ἄλλο δέ φησιν οὐ δυνάμεθα

[a] *Contra Hær.* lib. i, cap. 23.

λέγειν, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἕνα Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖ λέγων, ὧν οἱ πατέρες, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. ὁ ὢν κ. τ. λ. "For Christ was God," says Noetus, "and he suffered for us, in order that he might thereby be able to save us, being *himself the Father*. Indeed we cannot say otherwise, for the apostle acknowledges this *one God*, when he says, 'whose were the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever." In reply to these observations, Hyppolytus does not even hint at any different reading or interpretation of Rom. ix, 5; but while he keeps inviolate the testimony of that passage to the deity of Christ, he adds an explanation of the ἐπὶ πάντων, which removes every apparent difficulty. Ὃ δὲ λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὧν οἱ πατέρες, κ. τ. λ. Καλῶς διηγεῖται καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας μυστήριον. Οὗτος ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ἐστιν, λέγει γὰρ οὕτως μετὰ παῤῥησίας, πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός. "As to what the apostle says, 'whose are the fathers, &c.,' he here sets forth, well and clearly, the mystery of truth. Christ is God *over all*, for he thus boldly speaks, *All things were delivered unto me of my Father*." This writer then goes on to unfold at large the genuine doctrine of Scripture, namely, that Christ was truly the *blessed God;* that he became man; that he nevertheless continues to be God for ever; that, as the glorified Head of the church, he is almighty, and rules over all things, yet, is himself subject to the Father, "who did put all things under him."[a]

A similar answer to the same plea was given to the Noetians, in a later age, by Epiphanius. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς λέγων, Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός μου,—διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πάντων ἔστι Θεός. "Since he has himself taught us, saying, ALL THINGS were deli-

[a] Vid. *Hipp. Contra. Noet.* Ed. Fabricii, pp. 7, 10.

vered unto me of my Father, therefore he is God, OVER ALL."[a]

The extracts now given from Hippolytus and Epiphanius, afford a fair specimen of the manner in which Rom. ix, 5, was quoted and interpreted by the ancient fathers of the Church. These writers perceived, and allowed, that Jesus Christ—the glorified Head of the Church—is "over all," because "all power" is "given" to him in heaven and in earth, and thus *the whole creation* is subject to his control: and further, that he is God blessed for ever—even the true God—because he subsists unchangeably in the divine essence. It is quite evident that the words of the apostle, thus plainly interpreted, afford no support to the heresy which confused the persons in the Godhead, and therefore no real indication that our text was otherwise read or explained by the opposers of that heresy.[4]

So futile and irrelevant is the *negative* evidence alluded to by the Editors of U. N. V. and adduced at large by S. Clarke and Wetstein, to prove that Rom. ix, 5, was read or interpreted by the ancients, otherwise than as declarative of the deity of Jesus Christ. On the fair principles of criticism, it might have been supposed that these authors would not have neglected

[a] *Hær.* 57, Ed. Col. tom. i, p. 487.

[4] The whole force of Wetstein's argument, and of the cumbrous quotations by which it is supported, is in fact annihilated by his concluding remark. "Denique si id voluisset Paullus quod quidam putant, (Noetus for example,) videtur potius scripturus fuisse ὁ ὢν Ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς." Bp. Middleton justly observes, that Wetstein is mistaken in his Greek; for the article could not be with any propriety repeated after the particple ὢν. Nevertheless Wetstein here betrays his sense of his own reasoning, and shews, that in *his* opinion, there was no real contradiction between Rom. ix, 5, as now read, and the declared sentiments of Pseudo-Ignatius, Origen, and Eusebius.

to advert to evidence of a far better kind; namely, the *positive* evidence not only of the ancient versions, but of the fathers who have actually quoted the passage itself. These testimonies are in fact *abundant*, and afford an ample and most satisfactory proof, that Rom. ix, 5, was always read, in the church of Christ, as it is *now* read; and always interpreted as it is *now* interpreted; i. e. as containing a plain assertion, that Jesus Christ is "over all, God blessed for ever."

Subjoined is a list of early Christian writers who quote this passage in its usually received reading and sense.[5] This list, which is formed partly from actual

[5] Irenæus (A.D. 167) *adv. Hær.* lib. iii, 16, *Ed. Ben.* 205, *e.* Tertullian (A.D. 192) *adv. Prax.* bis, *Ed. Seml.* ii, 218, 225. Hyppolytus (A.D. 220) *adv. Noet. Ed. Fabricii*, pp. 7, 10. Origen (A.D. 230) *teste Ruffino Com.* in loc. et *qu.* 96 in Gen., as quoted by Mill: it must, however, be observed, that Ruffinus, the translator of Origen, has notoriously corrupted his author's text; so that this father's quotations of Rom. ix, 5, must be considered of doubtful authority. Cyprian (A.D. 248) *adv. Jud.* lib. ii, *Ed. Fell.* p. 35. Novatian (A.D. 251) *de Regul. Fid. Ed. Jackson*, p. 99. Athanasius (A.D. 326) *contra Arian. Orat. Ed. Colon.* i, p. 317, *e. ad Epictet.* tom. i, p. 589, *c.* Hilary (A.D. 354) *in Psa.* xxii. Victorinus (A.D. 362) *contra Arian.* lib. i. Epiphanius (A.D. 368) *Hær.* 57, *Ed. Colon.* i, p. 487. Basil (A.D. 370) *adv. Eunom.* lib. iv, *Ed. Ben.* i, p. 282. Gregorius Nyss. (A.D. 370) *contra Eunom. Orat.* x, *Ed. Paris.* ii, p. 693, *c.* Amphilochius (A.D. 370) *in Vita Basil. Ed. Paris.* p. 166. Ambrosius (A.D. 374) *de Spir. Sanct.* lib. i, cap. 3, &c. Hieronymus (A.D. 378) in loc. Idacius (A.D. 385) *contra Varimad.* lib. i. Augustinus (A.D. 396) lib. ii, *de Trin.* cap. 13, *et passim.* Chrysostom (A.D. 398) *de Dei Nat. Ed. Ben.* tom. i, 483, *c. Exp. Psa.* cxxxiv, tom. 5, p. 393, *e. Hom.* 1 Cor. tom. x, p. 172, *e.* Cyril. Alex. (A.D. 412) *contra Jul.* lib. x, *Ed. Aubert.* vi, p. 328, *b.* Theodoret. (A.D. 423) in loc. Cassianus (A.D. 424) *de Incarn.* lib. iii, *initio.* Proclus (A.D. 437) *ad Armenos, de recta fide.* Gennadius (A.D. 458) *in Caten.* MS. *Romæ*, vid. *Mill.* Fulgentius (A.D. 507) *ad Thrasimund*, lib. i, cap. 16, &c. Maxentius (A.D. 520) *Resp. ad Epist. Hormisdæ.* Facundus (A.D. 540) *Op.* lib. i, cap. 4. Gregorius Magnus (A.D. 590) lib. i, *Hom.* viii, *in Ezech. Ed. Ben.* i, 1236, &c. Maximus Conf. (A.D. 654) *Opusc. Theol. et Polem. Ed. Paris*, tom. ii, p. 64. Damascenus (A.D. 730) in loc. Œcumenius (A.D. 990) in loc. Theophylact (A.D. 1077) in loc.

reference to the authors, and partly from Mill's note on the passage in his Greek Testament, comprises *two* writers of the 2nd century, *four* of the 3rd, *twelve* of the 4th, *five* of the 5th, *four* of the 6th, *one* of the 7th, *one* of the 8th, *one* of the 10th, and *one* of the 11th; in all, *thirty-one* fathers, to whom others might without difficulty be added.

Let it be observed, moreover, that this accumulation of evidence is counteracted by *nothing* on the other side: for not a single ancient writer can be adduced, whether orthodox or heretical, who has cited or explained this passage in any other sense, than as declarative of the divinity of Christ.[6]

What then is the result of our whole investigation respecting the *authority* of the commonly received text of Rom. ix, 5? It is that the words of this text (as far as relates to every thing important) are supported, without the least shade of exception, by *all* collated manuscripts containing the passage, by *all* the ancient versions, and by *all* the fathers of every age and class —(an unusually numerous and ample company)—who have cited the apostle's words. In short, it may with safety be asserted, that there is not a single passage in the whole New Testament, of which the present *reading* is more completely confirmed and established.[7]

[6] Erasmus (in loc.) speaks of a *hint* given by Ambrose of Milan, that some persons did not understand the ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς in this passage, as relating to Christ. Erasmus here alludes to certain spurious commentaries on Paul's epistles, falsely ascribed to Ambrose, but bound up with his works. The words of the commentator cannot be fairly understood as containing any such hint as Erasmus supposes. He merely says, "*Si quis* autem non putat de Christo dictum *Qui est Deus*, det personam de quâ dictum est. De Patre enim Deo hoc loco mentio facta non est." Vid. *Ps. Ambros.* in loc.

[7] It is somewhat surprising that, in the face of all this evidence, Griesbach should have condescended to notice the conjecture of Crellius, who, as an *emendator* of the apostle's text, proposes for

The same may be said of the commonly received *interpretation* of the passage, as far as authority can be considered applicable to that point; and that authority, when unanimous, goes a long way even in fixing a right *interpretation*, must be allowed by every impartial critic. It cannot I think be conceived, that a very plain sentence in the Greek Testament, would be construed in the same way, by so large and various a host of *examiners*, (that is to say, by every translator, theologian, or commentator, by whom the passage is known to have been explained, from the time of the apostles, to the days of Erasmus,) *were that passage fairly capable of any different construction.*

Erasmus, although professing (I presume, sincerely) an orthodox faith, has manifested in his notes on the Greek Testament, a certain degree of unwillingness to admit, in their full and natural force, some of the more pointed scriptural declarations of the deity of Jesus Christ; and, being an elegant rather than very *exact* scholar, he was, I believe, the first person, who set the example in Europe, of that loose and unreasonable criticism, by which many persons have since endeavoured to undermine the testimony of Scripture, to

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ὁ ὢν to read ὢν ὁ, and to render, "*whose* is God over all blessed for ever." Were this conjecture ever so plausible, it must of course be rejected, because utterly unauthorized. But it happens to be in direct opposition to the sentiment declared by Paul in this very epistle, that God is not "the God of the Jews only," but "also of the Gentiles," iii, 29. It is also wholly at variance with the construction of the passage, for had this been the conclusion of the apostle's climax, the copulative καὶ must have been placed before ὢν ὁ, and not before the preceding clause ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς κ. τ. λ. The article, moreover, must have been repeated before εὐλογητὸς—ὢν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, Ὁ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. This conjecture is the miserable shift, by which Whitby in his "*Last thoughts*" endeavours to overturn his own unanswerable arguments, in favor of the orthodox interpretation of Rom. ix, 5.

the great doctrines of Christianity. Grotius, a yet more daring critic, pursued the same course; and the example of these great men has been eagerly followed by the modern advocates of Socinian and Unitarian views. These observations may suffice to introduce the reading and interpretation of Rom. ix, 5, which the editors of U. N. V. after Clarke and Lindsey, have borrowed from Erasmus, and by which they endeavour to set aside this noble apostolic testimony to the deity of Jesus Christ. Their version of the passage is as follows, "Whose are the fathers and of whom by natural descent Christ (came). God who is over all, be blessed for ever. Amen." Their accompanying note (to which we have already referred) thus commences, "See Clarke on the Trinity, No. 539; and Mr. Lindsey's Second Address to the students of the two universities, p. 278. The common version here adopted by Dr. Newcome is, 'who is over all, God blessed for ever.' But the translation of Dr. Clarke and Mr. Lindsey, equally well suits the construction."

Now there are three reasons why this new method of pointing and interpreting the apostle's words, must be regarded as inadmissible. It is at variance first, with *authority*; secondly, with *the rules of construction*; and thirdly, with *context*.

I. The observations already made, will have sufficed to shew how totally the proposed interpretation of Rom. ix, 5, is opposed to *authority*. None of the ancient versions, none of the early ecclesiastical writers, none even of their heretical opposers, afford the least countenance to such a division of the apostle's sentence. All antiquity, on the contrary, so far as its testimony has reached us, is ranged in opposition to

it. With respect to the manuscripts, out of the whole multitude of those which are pointed, Griesbach mentions only one, (No. 47 on his list,) in which a period is placed at σάρκα.

How far the question respecting the division of this verse can be treated as one of *reading*, may be fairly considered doubtful. It is generally allowed by biblical critics, that the full stops, colons, commas, &c., which are found in the present text of the Greek Testament, are, in themselves, of no authority. They are found chiefly in the more modern manuscripts, and cannot be supposed to have had any place in the apostolic autographs. It is always to be remembered, that when we speak of the true reading of a text of Scripture, we mean that which existed in these autographs; and the evidences which critics adduce to prove the superior authority of any particular reading over another, are always intended to bear upon this point. Now, although something very similar to the punctuation at present adopted in Greek books, appears to have been practised in the old Grecian schools of rhetoric and grammar, the most ancient MSS. extant, of the New Testament, afford a sufficient evidence that this method was not practised by the evangelists and apostles. There is good reason to believe that there was no separation, in their writing, between the end of one word and the beginning of the next; and that they made no use of stops, for the purpose of distinguishing *one part of a sentence from another*. On the other hand, from the obvious convenience and even necessity of the practice—from the general uniformity of the ancient versions—and from the evidence of manuscripts—there is little doubt that, in the apostolic autographs, *some* mark or break was adopted, in

order to indicate the place where the sense of each passage *terminated.*[a]

Whether, on the supposition of his having intended to express the meaning ascribed to him by the editors of U. N. V., the apostle would have placed one of these distinguishing marks after σάρκα, it is impossible with any accuracy to decide. On the whole, however, it may be fairly concluded, that although, in the interpretation of Scripture, we are at liberty to disregard the less important particulars of the received punctuation, it is a dangerous and illegitimate expedient to insert *periods,* and thereby to distinguish *sentences,* in contradiction to the evidence of ancient authority; especially where that authority is so multifarious, and unanimous, as in the present example. Beza, Placæus, and Griesbach himself, have accordingly treated the question respecting a period after σάρκα, as one of *reading;* and if so treated, that question is for ever decided *in the negative.*

This may perhaps be regarded as at once a simple and sufficient reason, for our rejecting the proposed punctuation and version of Rom. ix, 5. One point however is clear—that nothing can justify our taking such a liberty with a text of Scripture, thus unanimously supported, in its present form, by ancient authorities, except it be evidence in favor of the change, arising from construction and context. Now, in the present instance no such evidence exists. On the contrary, both construction and context are in direct opposition to the proposed change.

These points must now be briefly examined. The editors and their precursors suppose, that the apostle's admirable sentence, respecting the Jews, terminates

[a] Vide *Michaelis Introd. to N. T. by Marsh,* ch. xiii.

(we may truly say, *suddenly)* at the word σάρκα: and they make a distinct sentence, afterwards, of Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. These words they interpret as an ejaculatory blessing, "*God who is over all be blessed for ever!*" I believe I am supported by all the more able biblical critics, who have examined this verse, (including Michaelis, Ernestus, Rosenmüller, and even Socinus himself)[8] in contradicting the assertion of the editors, that this translation "*equally well suits the construction, as the commonly received version.*"

In the first place, were this the apostle's true meaning, no good reason could be alleged for his inserting the participle ὢν before ἐπὶ πάντων: for although this insertion would be no fault in grammar, (because, as we have already seen, the participle of existence, if not expressed, is always understood after the Greek article,) yet, in the present instance, it is unnecessary and unnatural. Ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, without the participle, is a far easier and more likely phrase to designate "the supreme God," and is *customarily* employed by the Greeks for that purpose.[a]

But there is another objection to the new method of construing Rom. ix, 5, of a yet more decisive nature; namely, that the apostle's words are not so arranged

[a] See *Ps.-Ignatius, Eusebius, Basil, &c. &c.* as quoted by *Wetstein*, in loc.

[8] Speaking of the punctuation and version of this passage proposed by Erasmus, Socinus, says, "Non est, inquam, ulla causa cur hæc interpretatio vel potius *lectio et interpunctio* Erasmi rejici posse videatur; nisi una tantum, quam adversarii non afferunt; neque enim illam animadverterunt. Ea est quod cum simplex nomen *Benedictus*, idem significat quod *Benedictus sit*, semper ferè solet *anteponi ei* ad quem refertur, *perrarò autem postponi*. Soon afterwards he adds, "Propter causam istam, quam ego attuli, facile concedo, verba prolati Paulini testimonii, omnia ad Christum referenda esse:" *Respons. ad* 8 *Cap. Vieki.*

as to be *capable* of denoting the supposed ejaculatory blessing. We are in possession of satisfactory critical evidence, that in order to express such a blessing, the writer must have placed εὐλογητὸς *first* in his series of words. Nothing could be much more familiar to the ancient Jews, than the idiom by which they were accustomed to express this kind of benediction. Examples abound in both the Hebrew Scriptures and Septuagint version, and repeatedly occur in the New Testament itself; and the rule appears to be *invariable,* that when the auxiliary verb is omitted, (as is usually the case,)[9] the participle which expresses the beatitude, precedes the name of the thing or person blessed, or, in other words, *begins the sentence.* Precisely the same rule applies to the form expressive of a curse. The participle אָרוּר, *cursed,* in the Hebrew Bible, and its representative ἐπικατάρατος, in the Septuagint, are thus used upwards of thirty times, and the בָּרוּךְ and εὐλογητὸς or εὐλογημένος, *blessed,* with considerably greater frequency. In the New Testament, the form of the blessing occurs four times, and that of the curse twice. In all these examples, the mode of construction is the same. Now when we consider the frequent occurrence of this form of words on the one hand, and its invariableness on the other, we may fairly conclude, that no Hellenistic writer, who wished to be understood, would think of reversing it. This remark applies with peculiar force, to the apostle Paul, who, doubtless, was a diligent reader of both the Hebrew and Septuagint Scriptures, and to whose eye and ear, for other rea-

9 When the auxiliary verb is expressed, that verb *precedes,* and the participle *follows,* the name of the thing or person blessed, as in 1 Kings x, 9. יְהִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ. "Let the Lord thy God be blessed." *Sept.* γένοιτο Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου εὐλογημένος.

sons also, the form in question could not fail to be familiar. And further, that he was himself accustomed to the use of it, is proved by two passages in his epistles :[a] Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."[1]

[a] Vid. 2 Cor. i, 3; Eph. i, 3.

[1] I know of only one passage in the Greek Scriptures which presents any appearance of exception to the rule now stated; viz. Ps. lxvii, 19: Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς· εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν. The former clause of this sentence is of doubtful authority, there being nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew text. I conceive however that it ought to be rendered, not "Blessed *be* the Lord God," but rather, "The Lord God *is* blessed." The latter clause of the verse corresponds with the Hebrew, and, like its original, is arranged in the form of an ejaculatory blessing—"Blessed be the Lord day by day!" It seems probable that Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς was nothing more than a marginal description of the contents of this part of the psalm, and that it crept, through error, into the text.

In the Hebrew Scriptures also, there is a passage which demands some remark. In Gen. xxvii, 29, at the close of the blessing addressed by Isaac to his son Jacob, we read, אֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר וּמְבָרֲכֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ. These words are rendered in E. T. "Cursed (be) every one that curseth thee, and blessed (be) he that blesseth thee." The Hebrew, however, is in the declarative, and not the optative, form; and I think there can be no doubt that it ought to be rendered, "He that curseth thee *is* cursed, and he that blesseth thee *is* blessed." The meaning seems to be, that any one who curses Jacob, becomes, by the very act, cursed himself, and that those who bless him, are *thereby* blessed in their own persons; and this declaration forms a sort of proverbial conclusion to the act in which Isaac had himself been engaged—that of invoking a series of blessings on his son. The Septuagint version of this passage exactly represents the Hebrew, and, taken with its context, can be understood only as a declaration. Προσκυνήσουσί σοι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Πατρός σου· ὁ καταρώμενός σε, ἐπικατάρατος· ὁ δὲ εὐλογῶν σε, εὐλογημένος. "The sons of thy father shall bow down before thee—He that curseth thee is (or shall be) cursed; but he that blesseth thee is (or shall be) blessed." So also the *Targum* and *Syr.*

Dr. Lant Carpenter, one of the most learned advocates of modern Unitarianism, adopts the same version of Rom. ix, 5, as the Editors of U. N. V. In endeavouring to counteract the force of the objection stated above, he says, "Since Θεὸς has here nothing dependent upon it, and εὐλογητὸς has, the arrangement in cases where Θεὸς has dependent words and εὐλογητὸς has not, is not in point, and there-

As this new version of Rom. ix, 5, is inconsistent with a known rule of construction, so it is plainly at variance with the tenor of the context. It terminates one of the apostle's noblest sentences, with an unnatural abruptness, and interrupts the thread of his discourse, by the insertion of a *long* and *improbable* exclamation. No one, I think, can deliberately peruse the first ten verses of the chapter, without perceiving the operation, in both these respects, of this new division of verse 5. By stopping the sense at *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, we mar as beautiful a climax, and destroy as palpable an antithesis, as any which can be found within the range of Paul's epistles. What possible force can attach to the apostle's *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*,—an emphatic form of speech,—unless it be intended to distinguish the *human* from the *divine* nature of Christ? To the Unitarian interpreter, these words must, I conceive, appear redundant, and even absurd.

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fore furnishes no objection against our construction." This plea is certainly futile; for, in the first place, Θεὸς, in this passage, (as rendered by Carpenter,) *has* the dependent words, *ἐπὶ πάντων*: and secondly, the circumstance of the presence or absence of dependent words in connection with Θεὸς or εὐλογητὸς, makes no difference in the rule, which continues to be observed when εὐλογητὸς *has* dependent words, and Θεὸς or Κύριος *has none:* see *Sept.* Ps. lxvii, 19; Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν—"Blessed be the Lord day by day:" lxxxviii, 52; Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα—"Blessed be the Lord for ever." In *Sept.* Ps. cv, 48, both terms have dependent words—Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος—"Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, from eternity to eternity." So also cxxxiv, 21; Εὐλογητὸς Θεὸς, ἐκ Σιὼν, ὁ κατοικῶν Ἰερουσαλήμ—"Blessed out of Zion, be God who dwelleth in Jerusalem." This last passage, *except in arrangement*, resembles the latter part of Rom. ix, 5, as interpreted by the Editors of U. N. V. and Carpenter; and according to this pattern, the apostle might have placed his words as follows: Εὐλογητὸς Θεὸς, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων. The more probable form however of such a blessing would have excluded the participle ὢν—εὐλογητὸς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

With respect to the interruption of the apostle's discourse, by an exclamatory benediction, it is without parallel in his epistles; and in the present instance, is peculiarly improbable, because nothing can be less in accordance with the strain of lamentation which he is here pouring forth, than the sudden and warm expression of thankfulness and joy.[8]

On the whole then, it appears, that the division and version of Rom. ix, 5, suggested by Erasmus, and adopted by the modern Unitarians, is on every ground inadmissible. It is opposed to all existing ancient authority. It is forbidden by an acknowledged and familiar rule of construction. It is unlike the apostle's style, and offends against his context.[9]

Now, of the commonly received punctuation and version of this passage, we may safely assert the contrary. Authority, construction, and context, are unanimous in its support.

First, with respect to *authority*—with the exception of a single small-letter MS., the common mode of dividing, and therefore of construing, Rom. ix, 5, is confirmed (as we have already seen) by the accumulated and *uninterrupted* evidence of manuscripts, versions, and fathers. There is probably nothing in the whole

[8] It may be said that such an expression might here be suggested to the writer's mind by the preceding idea of the coming of Christ—but the preceding idea is not precisely this. It is one which cannot be fairly considered as likely to prompt the supposed benediction—viz. the descent of the Messiah *from the Jews*.

[9] These objections apply with at least equal force against another division of Rom. ix, 5, also proposed by Erasmus, and adopted by John Locke; viz.—ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων. Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας: which words, with what precedes, are thus paraphrased by Locke, "And of them, as to his fleshly extraction, Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever:" in loc. Opposed as this version is both to authority and construction, it appears also to stand self-condemned by the dismemberment of the obviously connected phrase, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς.

Scriptures *more largely, or more harmoniously authorised,* than the undivided text and orthodox interpretation of this celebrated verse.

Secondly, with respect to *construction*—the commonly received version of Rom. ix, 5, is liable to no objection. On the contrary, it is easy and natural, and at the same time coincides with one of the characteristic peculiarities of the apostle's style. According to this version, the participle ὤν is no longer expletive, but forms an essential part of the sentence. ὁ ὤν is put for ὅς ἐστι, and this use of the article with the participle of the verb εἶναι, instead of the relative pronoun with the indicative of the same verb, is an idiom which *pervades* the Greek Testament, and especially the writings of Paul.[a] The mode of expression in 2 Cor. xi, 31, for instance, is precisely the same as in Rom. ix, 5. Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οἶδεν, Ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. "God knoweth even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, *who is blessed for ever.*" This last passage suggests another observation, relative to the construction of Rom. ix, 5; namely, that while the term εὐλογητὸς, in a sentence thus arranged, is incapable of expressing an exclamatory benediction, *it is so placed in both these passages, as properly to indicate an epithet or description.* The same remark applies to Rom i, 25, where instead of ὁ ὢν we have its counterpart ὅς ἐστι, —τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας,—"The Creator, who is blessed for ever."

Lastly, with respect to *context*—the apostle's discourse is here distinguished (as we have already hinted) by a *climax* and an *antithesis,* and to both of these,

[a] Vid. Rom. i, 7; vii, 23; xii, 3; xvi, 11; 1 Cor. i, 2; 2 Cor. i, 1; Eph. ii, 13, &c. &c.

the common interpretation of verse 5, appears to be essential. Striking indeed is the gradual progression of thought, which this animated writer here displays, in reciting the privileges of his countrymen. They were Israelites. They were adopted as the peculiar family of Jehovah. Theirs was the glory of his presence. To them pertained the covenants, and the institution of the law, and the system of divine service. On them were bestowed the promises. Theirs was a lineal descent from the fathers of the church; and finally, of them, according to the flesh, the Messiah came—who is over all, GOD BLESSED FOR EVER. Who does not perceive that it is the last step of this climax—even the declaration, that among the Jews, God himself was manifest in the flesh—which completes the whole preceding series of ideas, and alone imparts to it its *crown of glory?*

With respect to the antithesis, it is evident that the phrase τὸ κατὰ σάρκα marks a distinction, and requires a response.[1] That response could not fail to exist in the apostle's mind; and the expression of it appears to have been required in order to preserve that harmony of doctrine, which forms one of the most distinguishing features of his writings. The emphatic mention of the human nature of Christ fitly introduces the declaration, that he possesses another and superior nature—that he is over all, God blessed for ever.

[1] The phrase κατὰ σάρκα occurs before in verse 3. Ηὐχόμην γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, τῶν συγγενῶν μοῦ κατὰ σάρκα. Although these words are not here preceded by the emphatic article τὸ, they nevertheless imply a distinction or contrast; viz. between the apostle's kindred by natural relationship, and those who were of the same spiritual family with him, by the connexion of a common faith. So also in 1 Cor. x, 18, Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα evidently means the *natural*, as distinguished from the *spiritual*, Israel.

There is a complete correspondence in both style and doctrine, between Rom ix, 5, when thus interpreted, and Rom. i, 3, 4. Περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα· τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν. "The Gospel of God, concerning his Son Jesus Christ, which was made of the seed of David *according to the flesh;* and declared (or demonstrated) to be *the Son of God* with power, *according to the spirit of holiness,* by the resurrection from the dead."

On a review of the several points which have now been considered it appears,

That the received reading of this passage is amply and unquestionably supported by manuscripts and ancient versions.

That the notion suggested by Erasmus, and propagated by more modern writers, of the omission of Θεὸς in the readings of Cyprian, Chrysostom, and Hilary, has no foundation in fact.

That the objections advanced by Origen, Eusebius, and some other inferior writers, against the doctrine, that Jesus Christ is ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων μέγιστος Θεὸς, or ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, were aimed against the *patri-passian* heresy, and afford no evidence that the early Christian church, or even these writers themselves, interpreted Rom. ix, 5, otherwise than as declarative of the deity of Christ.

That, on the contrary, we possess, in the writings of the fathers, abundant *positive* proofs that this passage was always read and construed in the early church, as it is by orthodox Christians in the present day.

That the editors of U. N. V., after the example of Erasmus, Clarke, and Lindsey, have ventured to read a full stop after σάρκα, and to render the remainder of the verse, "God who is over all be blessed for ever!"

That although the apostles probably made no use of such a system of punctuation as is now adopted in distinguishing the text of Greek authors, there is reason to suppose that they employed some mark or break, to shew where the sense of their discourse terminated.

That, on the whole, we are not at liberty to divide the text of the Greek Testament into different *sentences*, from those which antiquity has authorized; except it be in cases where both construction and context plainly demand the change.

That the editors of U. N. V. can plead no such reasons for their new division of Rom. ix, 5, which is directly opposed to a well-known rule of construction, and at once interrupts the course, and contradicts the tendency, of the apostle's discourse.

That, on the contrary, the commonly received version of this passage not only coincides with the unanimous voice of antiquity, but is supported by a construction highly characteristic of the apostle's style, and above all, *by that perfect adjustment with a very peculiar context, for which nothing but the actual correctness of the version, can fairly account.*

J. D. Michaelis, whose reputation as a biblical critic is of a very high order, was apparently destitute of any *partiality* for orthodox opinions in religion. He seems to have been inclined to an undue degree of freedom in the interpretation of Scripture, and some passages of his works indicate a disposition even *adverse* to the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ.[a] Nevertheless in his Commentary on Rom. ix, 5, he yields to the force of accumulated evidence, and candidly confesses his deliberate judgment, that the apostle has here declared that doctrine in its most proper and absolute

[a] See for example his *Commentary on Heb.* chap. i.

sense. On every fair principle of criticism, the conclusion from our premises does indeed appear to be inevitable, that, according to the testimony of this apostle, Jesus Christ, who descended in his human nature from the Jews, is "OVER ALL, GOD BLESSED FOR EVER." Michaelis justly observes, that the deity of our Redeemer, as expressed by the term Θεὸς, is here confirmed to be actual and supreme, by the double adjunct of ἐπὶ πάντων, and εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. A few observations on each of these points will bring the present essay to its conclusion.

Since πάντων may be either masculine or neuter, a question naturally arises whether ἐπὶ πάντων here designates the sovereignty of Christ over all *mankind* only, or over the *whole creation* of God. For the settlement of this question, nothing can be more reasonable than to examine the declarations elsewhere made by the apostle, on the same subject. Since this inspired writer teaches us, that by the Son of God "were *all things* (τὰ πάντα) created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible,"[a]—that *by* the Son "are *all things*" (τὰ πάντα) in the same sense, in point of extent, as they are *of* the Father,[b]—that God "hath put *all things* (πάντα) under his feet, and gave him to be head over *all things* (ὑπὲρ πάντα) to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that *filleth all in all*," (τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου,)[c]—that "at the name of Jesus *every knee* (πᾶν γόνυ) should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth,"[d]—that all the angels of God worship him,[e]—that "by him *all things* (τὰ πάντα) consist,"[f]—that he upholdeth "*all things* (τὰ πάντα) by the word of his power,"[g]—

[a] Col. i, 16. [b] 1 Cor. viii, 6. [c] Eph. i, 20—23. [d] Phil. ii, 9, 10. [e] Heb. i, 6. [f] Col. i, 17. [g] Heb. i, 3.

finally, that from his universal reign the Father only is excepted "which did put *all things* (*τὰ πάντα*) under him,"[a]—since such are the doctrines promulgated in so many different passages by the apostle,—we may rest assured that by the term *ἐπὶ πάντων* in Rom. ix, 5, he presents the Redeemer to our view as LORD OF THE UNIVERSE. And since it is in immediate connexion with this view of the subject, that he applies to him the divine *name*, the conclusion appears to be safe and incontrovertible, that Jesus Christ is in union with the Father, the SUPREME and ONLY GOD.

Again, if we are led to enquire into the meaning of *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, we shall find (and the argument is pressed upon us by the Unitarian divines, in support of their own untenable version of Rom. ix, 5,) that according to the custom and phraseology of the Jews, these terms are applicable *only* to Jehovah. No sooner was that holy name pronounced by the minister in the Jewish synagogues, than the response broke forth from the lips of the hearers, "Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever;"[b] and so familiar among the Jews was the use of the expression בָּרוּךְ הוּא "Blessed is he," or הַקָּדוֹשׁ וּבָרוּךְ הוּא, "Holy and blessed is he," as descriptive of the true God, that the abreviated forms הבה or הקבה were generally adopted in their writings as a current and intelligible designation of that glorious Being.[c] Ὁ *εὐλογητὸς*, in the New Testament, is one of the names of God.[d] When, therefore, we find the apostle describing our Saviour as *Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, we can no longer mistake his meaning, or entertain, for a moment, the presumptuous notion, that

[a] 1 Cor. xv, 27. [b] Vid. *Hammond*, in loc. [c] See *Schoettgen*, *Gill*, and *Pearson*, in loc. [d] See Mark xiv, 61.

the deity which he attributes to his Lord, is of a secondary or fictitious nature. He declares him to be the "BLESSED ONE" himself—the true and living God—to whom, by a perpetual covenant with his believing children, appertain the honours of religious adoration.

Nor is this an insulated doctrine; for the whole dispensation of the Gospel proclaims, that Christ is himself the LORD OF GLORY.[a] Undoubtedly it is because of his actual and perfect union in the Godhead, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, that the apostles ascribe to him, in the same terms as to God even the Father, glory, dominion, and praise,[b] and that in the Revelation, the whole creation is represented as uniting in one harmonious song of thanksgiving, "unto HIM WHO SITTETH ON THE THRONE, and unto THE LAMB for ever and ever."[c]

[a] 1 Cor. ii, 8, and James ii, 1. [b] 2 Tim. iv, 18; Heb. xiii, 21; 1 Pet. iv, 11. [c] Rev. v, 11—13.

CONCLUSION.

On the practical importance of faith in the deity of Christ.

MANY persons who profess Christianity, and are ready to acknowledge the truth of its doctrines, appear, nevertheless, to entertain the notion that the deeper and more mysterious parts of the system are, in their nature, speculative, and that in the administration of religious truth, they have little claim to be prominently brought forward. I believe that such a notion is often applied, in particular, to the doctrine of the deity of Christ.

Were such a sentiment well founded, it would appear to follow, that much time and attention could not be rightly devoted to the confirmation of that doctrine; for nothing can be deemed substantially valuable in any religious system, which does not truly promote the welfare of man and the glory of God. To the intelligent observer, however, it must appear even at first sight, little short of an absurdity, on the one hand to confess that this doctrine has been revealed, and on the other, to imagine that it has no practical bearing.

No one surely who forms a tolerably correct estimate of the character of the Divine Being, as displayed in Providence and in Scripture, can for a moment suppose that he has revealed any part of his truth, for the mere purpose of gratifying a speculative curiosity, or that he has made known to us more of the secrets of his own nature and counsels, than was

necessary for our regeneration and redemption. Without dishonouring God, the all-wise author of the Christian dispensation, we cannot entertain the belief, that the "light of the knowledge" of his "glory in the face of Jesus Christ," has been bestowed upon us for any less worthy purpose, than that of leading us onwards in the paths of piety and virtue, to eternal happiness. Since then the doctrine of the deity of Christ forms a part of that system of truth which is clearly revealed to us in Scripture—and my present argument is grounded on the supposition that this fact has been proved—we may rest assured, on the general principle now stated, that the belief and cordial reception of it, on our parts, must be of *some* decided use in promoting our religious welfare.

In point of fact, however, this statement is far below the truth. A more particular consideration of the subject will, I trust, serve to convince us, that such a faith is *absolutely essential* to the religion of the Christian; that it is of peculiar and preeminent importance to all his highest interests and dearest hopes.

I. Were we asked for a brief definition of the Christian dispensation, we might describe it as *a scheme, appointed in the wisdom and love of God for the salvation of mankind.* It may be presumed that all who acknowledge the truth of our religion, would be prepared to accept such a definition. Uniting, as all professing Christians do, in ascribing Christianity to God, they cannot fail to allow, that in an especial manner, it bears the impress of his wisdom and his love. Neither can it be denied that it is a scheme—a whole made up of parts—a plan, whether more or less complex—harmoniously adjusted to some particular end. And further, that this end, as far as relates to man-

kind, is *their salvation*, is a truth, which, in the New Testament, is always supposed and frequently proclaimed. "These things I say," cried Jesus to the Jews, "that ye might be *saved*."[a] The apostle Paul, on one occasion, calls the gospel the "word of *salvation*,"[b] and on another, "the power of God unto *salvation*."[c] The grace revealed in the gospel, "is the grace of God that bringeth *salvation*."[d] The Scriptures which unfold divine truth are "able to make wise unto *salvation*."[e] The end of our faith, is the "*salvation*" of our "souls."[f]

The term *salvation* is of a most comprehensive character, embracing all the blessings which the Christian derives from his religion; immunity from condemnation, freedom from sin; grace here, and glory hereafter. We cannot, however, form an adequate estimate of its meaning, without taking a view of the evils and miseries from which we are to be *saved*. We must call to mind that a deep moral degeneracy has overtaken us—that "the whole world lieth in wickedness,"[g] and is become "guilty before God"[h]—that in our fallen state, we are "lost" "sinners,"[i] sitting "in darkness and in the shadow of death,"[k] "children of wrath,"[l] labouring under the curse of the law, and condemned by its sentence—"the soul that sinneth, it shall die:"[m] —finally, that in this our depraved condition, we are under the dominion of Satan;[n] and, except we repent, must have our part in "everlasting fire, prepared for *the devil and his angels*."[o] Such is the dark and enslaved condition, and such the miseries present and future, from which deliverance is offered to us in the

[a] John v, 34. [b] Acts xiii, 26. [c] Rom. i, 16. [d] Tit. ii, 11. [e] 2 Tim. iii, 15. [f] 1 Pet. i, 9. [g] 1 John v, 19. [h] Rom. iii, 19. [i] Matt. xviii, 11; 1 Tim. i, 15. [k] Luke i, 79. [l] Eph. ii, 3. [m] Gal. iii, 13; Ezek. xviii, 4. [n] Eph. ii, 2. [o] Matt. xxv, 41.

Gospel. And this deliverance, together with the glorious gift of eternal life,[a] constitutes SALVATION.

II. Having made these remarks on the *end* proposed by Christianity, it will not be irrelevant, that we should shortly glance at the *nature* of the scheme, by which that end is accomplished.

It may be observed, that in the system of truth revealed to us in the New Testament, we find an authoritative republication of the moral law, far exceeding in fulness, all former publications of it. We find this law embodied for our instruction, in the example of the lawgiver himself. And in connection with the code and the pattern, we find a clear enunciation of our responsibility to God, of our resurrection from the dead, and of future, eternal, rewards and punishments.

Now, were it true that repentance, by itself, can deliver us from the guilt of past sins; and were it also true, that we are capable of repenting, and of afterwards walking according to the law of God, *in our own strength*, we may presume, that such a revelation of our duties and prospects, would have been all that we required—that by furnishing us with adequate information and motives, *this part* of the scheme of Christianity, would have sufficed for our salvation.

But Scripture and experience unite in proving, that neither of these things is true. In the first place, we know that under the moral government of God, even in this world, repentance does not obliterate sin, or prevent the suffering which follows it; and in the Bible, the principle is clearly laid down, that "without shedding of blood is no remission."[b] And secondly, since man, in the fall, is declared to be radically corrupt—a declaration corresponding with known facts—

[a] Rom. vi, 23. [b] Heb. ix, 22.

we may rest assured, that he is destitute of all natural capacity, either to repent of his sins, or to obey the law of God. Guilty and helpless as we are, we can entertain no well-founded hope of future happiness, without an atonement for our sins, and without the operation of some mighty principle, by which we may be recovered from our sickness, restored to communion with God, and prepared for immortal joy in his presence. What cause for thankfulness then is it, that in the Christian dispensation, all our need is supplied —that the Scriptures reveal to us, not only a perfect law, exemplified by as perfect a pattern, and confirmed by the sanction of future rewards and punishments, but above all, a SAVIOUR, through whose atoning blood, we may obtain forgiveness, and through whose efficacious Spirit, we may both repent and obey!

The moral law is preserved in the bosom of Christianity, just as the tables of the covenant, inscribed with the ten commandments, were kept uninjured within the inclosure of the ark; but if we are asked, What is the gospel, we must answer, Not the promulgation of this moral law, but *the glad tidings of redemption through Jesus Christ*—the "record that God hath given unto us eternal life, and that this life is in his Son."[a]

In order therefore to form a just notion of the scheme which God has appointed for our salvation, we must extend our views far beyond the merely moral and preceptive parts of the system: we must call to mind, that God so loved our lost world, as to bestow upon it his *only begotten Son.* Respecting Him who was thus freely given to us, the Scriptures testify, that he was in the beginning with God and was God; that by him all things were created in heaven and in earth;

[a] 1 John v, 11.

that he was the light and life of men; that in the fulness of time, he was sent of the Father into the world; that he was made flesh, or took our nature upon him, being conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of a virgin; that he went about doing good, and shewed forth his divine power by many wonderful works; that he died on the cross, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; that on the third day he arose again, triumphant over death, hell, and Satan; that he ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; that in this his exalted condition, he is both our Advocate with the Father, and the Supreme Governor of his church; that he sends the Comforter to his disciples, even the Holy Ghost, who effects our conversion and sanctification; finally, that he will come again in glory, raise the dead to life, judge all men according to their works, and bestow, upon his faithful followers, a happy immortality.

On the whole then it is evident, that the offices and acts of the Son of God, are so far from forming a secondary, or even a merely constituent, part of the scheme of Christianity, that they are the medium through which the whole dispensation passes. Through this channel alone, flows that glorious broad stream of mercy and truth, which originates in the love of God our Father, and terminates in the salvation of his creature, Man. The deity of the Son—his union and cooperation, in the eternal Godhead, with the Father and the Holy Ghost—is no merely collateral or ornamental circumstance, it is the very life and substance of the whole system.

III. Such being the plan ordained of God for our salvation, the question immediately arises, how we are to avail ourselves of its provisions. To this question,

true philosophy presents a ready answer—"*Through faith.*" Since it has been demonstrated to our reason, that God has revealed to us a system of truth for our salvation, reason itself proclaims that we must be saved through the operation of that principle in the mind, by which alone revealed truth is accepted and appropriated. Now that principle is *belief* or *faith.*

On this subject the declarations of Scripture are abundant and explicit. "The Just shall live by *faith.*"[a] "Without *faith* it is impossible to please God."[b] We are "justified by *faith.*"[c] "By grace are ye saved through *faith.*"[d] Believers "are kept by the power of God, through *faith,* unto salvation."[e] "Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; *believe his prophets,* so shall ye prosper."[f] The Israelites "could not enter" into the promised land, "because of *unbelief,*" and the "word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with *faith* in them that heard it."[g] Neither can *we* enter into the kingdom of heaven, or derive benefit from the gospel, except we *believe* it. "*Without*" are the "abominable and murderers;" and *also,* "the fearful and *unbelieving.*"[h] "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that *believeth* and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that *believeth not* shall be condemned."[i] Now although it is philosophically true, and nothing more than plain reason, that men cannot be saved by the means of an outward revelation, if they do not believe and accept it, it ought not to be forgotten, that in these and other passages of Scripture, the disbelief of the gospel is condemned as a *moral* delinquency. Such declarations

[a] Hab. ii, 4; Gal. iii, 11. [b] Heb. xi, 6. [c] Rom. iii, 28. [d] Eph. ii, 8. [e] 1 Pet. i, 5. [f] 2 Chron. xx, 20. [g] Heb. iii, 19; iv, 2. [h] Rev. xxi, 8.—*comp.* xxii, 15. [i] Mark xvi, 15, 16.

are aimed against the "evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God."[a] They presuppose a fact of the highest importance; namely, that the light of revelation is accompanied by such evidences of its divine origin, as cannot fail to satisfy the impartial enquirer. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."[b]

On every ground therefore, both natural and moral, and especially from the multiplied declarations of Scripture, it appears to be a clear point, that those to whom the gospel is revealed, and who nevertheless reject that gospel, are excluded from the benefits which it is intended to convey. But the question more peculiarly before us is this—whether we have any reason to suppose, that it suffices for the purpose of our salvation, that we should acknowledge, in general terms, the divine origin of the Christian revelation, and yet believe and accept *only a part* of that which is revealed? Or more particularly, whether we can be regarded as possessing a saving faith in Christianity, if we believe its contents, so far as relates to its moral code, a resurrection from the dead, and judgment to come, but deny the Lord who bought us—reject the record, that God has sent his ONLY BEGOTTEN SON into the world, to assume our nature, atone for our sins, and redeem us from all iniquity.

In reply to these questions, it may, in the first place, be remarked, that the scheme of religion unfolded in the New Testament, although composed of many parts, is a perfect whole, and is directed, *as a whole*, to the great end of our salvation. If then we accept it only in part, there is surely much reason to fear, that,

[a] Heb. iii, 12. [b] John iii, 19.

as far as *we* are concerned, we shall undermine its strength, and defeat its operation. And secondly, it is evident, that in rejecting the divinity, incarnation, and atonement of Christ, we reject precisely that part of the system, which is most essential in the plan of redemption, and upon which all the other parts may be said to depend. It is also that part of the system, which is placed the farthest beyond the scope of human wisdom, and which is therefore the best adapted to bring into exercise the acceptable principle of faith in God. Here it is that our faith is tried. And here it is also, that our faith is *triumphant*. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the SON OF GOD?"[a]

On these grounds it is only reasonable to conclude, that if while we profess a belief in Christianity, we yet reject its peculiar doctrines, we are in the utmost danger of excluding ourselves from its saving operation, and therefore from its promised benefits. But a disbelief "*in the name of the Son of God,*" like that of the gospel generally, is condemned by our Lord as an immorality —as a punishable and mortal sin. "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD."[b]

IV. This remark naturally leads to another view of the subject, the consideration of which will afford full confirmation to our present conclusions. In the scheme of the gospel, Jesus Christ is HIMSELF the Saviour, and therefore HIMSELF the object of saving faith.

[a] 1 John v, 4, 5. [b] John iii, 17, 18.

A beautiful light is thrown on this branch of the argument, by a comparison between the Old and New Testaments. In the former, we often read of persons who were raised up by the hand of divine Providence, to save the people from their enemies. But God himself is ever described as the Author even of *these* deliverances, and in a higher and more spiritual sense, he repeatedly declares himself to be the *only* Saviour. "I am the Lord thy God, the Holy one of Israel, THY SAVIOUR ..... I even I am the Lord, and BESIDE ME, there is NO SAVIOUR."[a] And as the Israelites were taught to look upon Jehovah as their *only* Saviour, so was he ever proposed to them as the *only* object of a religious and saving faith. Those who trusted in any arm of flesh were cursed. None were in the way of life and salvation, but those whose primary reliance, for every blessing was exclusively fixed on the living God.

In the New Testament, God is unfolded to us, in that mysterious union, of which there are many indications even in the Hebrew Scriptures—the union of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—who co-operate in the mighty plan ordained for our salvation, and who are therefore the joint and inseparable objects of the Christian's faith.[b] Nevertheless, since the whole dispensation is conducted through the SON —since God was in *him*, "reconciling the world to himself"[c]—since *he* alone was "delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification"[d]—it is the SON to whom, in an especial manner, are ascribed the name and character of a SAVIOUR. He is the "Saviour of the world,"[e] "the Saviour of the body," that is, "of the church,"[f] "our great God and Sa-

[a] Isa. xliii, 3, 11; Hos. xiii, 4. [b] Matt. xxviii, 19. [c] 2 Cor. v, 19. [d] Rom. iv, 25. [e] John iv, 42; xii, 47. [f] Eph. v, 23.

viour."[a] Nor is the salvation which he bestows, of any inferior or secondary nature. It is incomprehensibly great. It is spiritual. It is eternal.

In perfect *evenness* with this doctrine, Jesus Christ presents himself to his disciples, as a lawful and necessary object of saving faith. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."[b] "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst..... Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life—I am that bread of life."[c] "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."[d] Since then, according to the dictates both of reason and Scripture, God alone is the object of saving faith—which is an essential part of divine worship—such declarations must be regarded as containing a strong collateral evidence of the deity of Jesus Christ; and in practice, it is, as I conceive, *utterly impossible,* while we reject that doctrine, *so* to believe or trust in Christ, as these passages enjoin. That this is the fact, will, I think, be made clear to every serious Christian, by reflection on his own experience, and on the particular *bearings* of his faith in Christ.

We trust in Christ, as the *atonement for our sins;* and although we are aware that he died on the cross as *man,* yet our reliance on him for redemption through his blood, is necessarily connected with the truth, that he is not man *only.* We believe, that we are forgiven all our iniquity, because a sacrifice has been provided for us of infinite worth and dignity; because ours is a Redeemer,

[a] Tit. ii, 11. [b] John iii, 16. [c] John vi, 35, 47, 48. [d] John xi, 25, 26.

omnipotent to deliver us from the curse of the law, and to bear on himself, the sins of the whole world.

We trust in Christ as our advocate with the Father, our only Mediator; and while we freely confess, that for this his gracious office, that human nature was essential, in which he is our sympathizing High Priest, we are deeply sensible, that his mediation is rendered availing for all its lofty and comprehensive purposes, only by his *oneness* with the Father—his eternal deity.

We trust in Christ as our Baptizer, our inward Teacher, and our supreme spiritual Ruler. Although assured, therefore, that, even in his reign of glory, he continues to be man, our faith must needs embrace his deity; for in this alone, he can bestow the gifts and graces of his Spirit, to enlighten, sanctify, and govern, his church universal.

We trust in Christ as the Judge of quick and dead; and while we acknowledge that all judgment is committed unto him, "*because he is the Son of man*"[a]—a signal indication of the divine equity—yet are we sensible, that it his *godhead* which qualifies him for the office; and we are bowed before him in the firm conviction that he knoweth all things, and is the Searcher of all hearts.

Finally, we trust in Christ as the Lord and Giver of life, and while we remember, that in order to purchase it for us, he "took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men," yet in looking to him for the *free gift* of a glorious immortality, it is impossible for us to forget, that he is truly GOD.

V. The preceding remarks may serve to shew, that a belief of the deity of Christ is not only inseparably connected with the Christian's *experience*, but is essential to the *general maintenance of his creed.* That this is true, however, is still more clearly proved by the

[a] John v, 27.

notorious fact, that a denial of that doctrine is ever accompanied by a corresponding degeneracy of religious sentiment, in relation to other important particulars in the system of Christianity.

Those who allow that GOD was manifest in the flesh —that the ONLY BEGOTTEN SON was clothed with humanity, and died on the cross to save us—are naturally impressed with the malignity of sin and with the weight of its eternal consequences, which called for *such* a surrender, for *such* a sacrifice. But to the unbeliever in the deity of the Son of God, *sin* is no longer a mortal offence against a Being of perfect holiness. It assumes the softer name of "moral evil." The existence of it is ascribed to the Creator himself, and in connection with its punishment, it is even regarded as forming one part of a providential chain, which is destined to terminate in the happiness of the sinner. Satan is transformed, from the father of lies, a murderer from the beginning, the deceiver, accuser, and destroyer of men—into a harmless metaphor —a mere figure of poetry. Hell, of course is robbed of its deepest terrors, and is treated of, not as a place of eternal punishment, but as one of temporary and corrective suffering—a purgatory provided in mercy, rather than ordained in judgment.

With these unscriptural views of sin, its author, its origin, and its effects, is inseparably connected a partial and inadequate estimate of *the law of righteousness*, which sinks down from the high and consistent level, maintained in Scripture, of *universal godliness;* and while it still borrows something from Christianity, gradually assumes the shape of a worldly, though plausible, moral philosophy.

Since man is no longer regarded as a fallen and lost

creature, prone to iniquity and corrupt at core, but as a being essentially virtuous, it is plain that he can no longer be considered as standing in need of Redemption. That word, may indeed, in some metaphorical sense, find its way into the creed of those persons who reject the deity of Jesus Christ. But the doctrine of *pardon through faith in his blood* is dismissed as unnecessary and absurd; *unnecessary*, because we are *not* under the curse of the law; *absurd*, because it is inconceivable that a mere man, "weak and peccable like ourselves," could possibly atone for the sins of the world.

In like manner, the doctrine of a spiritual influence, freely bestowed by a glorified Saviour for our conversion and sanctification, is discarded as untenable. On the one hand, such an influence is no longer required; on the other, the greatest of merely human prophets can have no power to bestow it. Since, indeed, the divine character and inward operation of the Holy Ghost, are intimately connected, in the system of revealed truth, with the deity and atonement of Christ, it naturally follows that the latter doctrines cannot be forsaken, without the surrender of the former. In point of fact, they usually disappear at the same time, or in rapid succession, from the creed of the sceptic.

Lastly, since the Bible has explicitly declared the several doctrines, to which we have alluded, its plain declarations (in order to meet these novel views) must now be interpreted, as harsh, unnatural, metaphors—as strained, oriental, figures. Hence its authority is gradually weakened, and although perhaps it is still allowed to contain much true history and some divine doctrine, it descends from its lofty station of a volume truly "given by inspiration of God." No longer are its contents food for daily, pious, meditation; no longer is it the test by

the *simple* application of which, all questions in religion must be tried and determined. On the whole, revelation is marred, and religion becomes a wreck. Man is left to the perilous guidance of his own perverted reason; and must steer his course through the ocean of life, *without the true rudder.*

It may perhaps be objected that the degeneracy of religious sentiment, to which we have now adverted, attaches chiefly to the *lowest grade* of faith in relation to the person of Christ; and this is certainly true. Nevertheless it is, I believe, in various degrees, the inevitable accompaniment of every system which does not include the doctrine of his deity; and the lower we fall in our estimate of HIM, the greater and more conspicuous this degeneracy becomes. The lines which separate the different classes of persons, who reject the deity of Christ, are of a finite breadth and easily passable. The broad, impassable, distinction—the *infinite* difference of opinion—lies between those who confess their Saviour to be GOD, and *all* who regard him only as a creature.

On the whole, it appears,

First, that Christianity is a scheme ordained in the wisdom and love of God for our salvation; that is, for such a recovery from a fallen and lost condition, as will ensure our eternal happiness.

Secondly, that this scheme contains, not only a moral code with the revelation of future rewards and punishments, but provisions for our *redemption* through an incarnate and crucified Saviour; and that of these provisions his deity is the very life and substance.

Thirdly, that we are saved by faith; and that our faith, in order to be saving, must embrace the whole scheme appointed for our salvation; more especially

that it must be directed to those parts of it, which are at once peculiar and fundamental.

Fourthly, that Jesus Christ, as being himself the Saviour of the world, is the proper object of *saving faith;* and that such a faith in Him, with a view to his various offices in the economy of grace, cannot be maintained without the belief of his deity.

Fifthly, that the whole argument is confirmed by that general degeneracy of religious sentiment, with which the denial of this doctrine is universally accompanied.

I conclude, therefore, that the deity of Jesus Christ, is so far from being a merely speculative point which may be laid on one side and disregarded with impunity, that a heartfelt reliance on its truth, is essential to that great purpose for which Christianity itself was instituted—the salvation of our never-dying souls.

In presenting this conclusion to the deliberate consideration of the reflecting Christian, I have purposely avoided even touching the question, what allowance our heavenly Father may be pleased to make for a condition of ignorance, and for the errors and prejudices of education. We read that he who knows not his Master's will and does it not, "shall be beaten with few stripes;"[a] and we may rest assured that under the moral government of God, all rewards and punishments are distributed with a *perfect equity.* For my own part, I am persuaded that the degree of faith required in every man, is precisely commensurate with the degree of light bestowed upon him. On this very ground, it is the unquestionable duty as well as the highest privilege of those to whom the Gospel is revealed, cordially to embrace it *in all its fulness.* "We are all by nature the children of wrath."[a] Here is the

[a] Luke xii, 48.

disease. "He that believeth on the Son of God hath everlasting life."[a] Here is the remedy. How clearly consequent, and yet how awful is the alternative—"He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God ABIDETH on him!"

To work out our salvation, with a view to the glory of God as well as to our own happiness, is to fulfil the chief and noblest purpose of our being. But in order fully to appreciate the *practical* nature of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, we must call to mind that the *salvation* which is obtained through faith in these doctrines, is commenced and carried forward in the present life, and involves, amongst other things, our *moral regeneration.* Every one who is accustomed to trace the lines of Christian experience, must be aware that the application to ourselves, through faith, of that redemption which came by the Son of God, is the very means ordained by our heavenly Father, *for our recovery from a sinful condition, and for our restoration to the image of our Creator.* Thus it is, and thus *only*, that we can "put off the *old man* which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and put on the *new man* which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness."[b]

In order to confirm this general remark, we may briefly advert to a few distinct points, in regard to which a belief in the deity of Christ is essential to the formation of the *Christian's character.*

I. The first point is *humility.* The dignity and worth of Him whom God has given to redeem us from sin, are the true *gage* by which we must measure our own demerits, and the depth of our corrup-

[a] John iii, 36. [b] Eph. iv, 22—24.

tion in the fall. A deliberate consideration of the justice and holiness of God, who ordained the incarnation and atoning death of HIS OWN SON, as the only means through which the sinner might be justified, lays open to us an astonishing view of the high demands of his law, of his abhorrence of sin, and of the greatness of our own sinfulness. I believe that such a view alone, affords the means of a radical cure of the worst and most prevalent of moral diseases—*self-righteousness and pride.*

Those who imbibe the doctrine of the deity of Christ, and heartily embrace that system of truth with which it is connected, can scarcely fail to be made sensible that all their own "righteousnesses are as filthy rags;"[a] that a load of guilt rests upon them, in their fallen state, from which they cannot possibly deliver themselves; and that they are destitute of all power of *their own* to walk in the way of holiness. Thus are they humbled and broken before the Lord, and their humility lies at the root of their regeneration. It leads to that abiding dependence on Christ for forgiveness, and on the Holy Spirit for illumination and sanctification, by which alone they can be established, in a sober, righteous, and godly life. "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me."[b]

II. The second point alluded to is *love.* Persons who form a low estimate of their sins, and imagine them to be of slight consequence and easily passed over, may talk, in a latitudinarian manner, of the *benevolence* of God; but they must ever be destitute of a

[a] Isa. lxiv, 6. [b] Gal. ii, 20.

proper sense of his *mercy*. They are sure to exemplify our Lord's own maxim "that to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little."[a] But let our sinfulness be estimated by its true measure—the infinite dignity of Him who covers our iniquities and redeems us from their power—and we shall then be prepared to apprehend what is the greatness of the *mercy* of our God—what the tenderness of his *unmerited compassion*. Being forgiven *much*, we shall love *much*.

There is, however, a yet more direct and palpable reason, why sound opinions respecting the person of Christ, are of essential importance for the production of love to God—namely, that *the greater the gift, the more the gratitude*. "We love" God, "because he first loved us;"[b] and our love to him, will always be in some degree proportioned to the manifestation bestowed upon us, of the *greatness* of his love towards us. Now, "in this was manifested the love of God towards us, that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him."[c] Thankful we ought unquestionably to be to our Heavenly Father, for the communication of his truth to us through the instrumentality of a prophet; but how are our feelings of gratitude exalted, when we call to mind, that under the Christian dispensation, he has bestowed upon us, not merely a human prophet, but a divine, omnipotent, Redeemer,—that he "spared not HIS OWN SON, but delivered him up for us all!"[d] Surely then, the faith which embraces the divinity and atonement of Christ, is in a preeminent degree, a "faith which worketh by *love*." It contemplates the most cogent of all proofs, and the most sublime of all examples, of the love of God towards man: it calls on the

[a] Luke vii, 47. [b] 1 John iv, 19. [c] 1 John iv, 9 [d] Rom. viii, 32.

heart of the believer for a corresponding *completeness* of love towards God, and by the most delightful of motives, it constrains the creature to submit himself without reserve to the will of the Creator.[a] The love of God, thus formed in the soul of the believer, is indeed, the spring of every other virtue—of self-denial, purity and temperance; of patience and resignation, of meekness and charity.

Charity, it must be confessed, is a virtue of peculiar value; for the whole moral law is "briefly comprehended" in these two sayings, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind and with all thy strength," and "*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*"[b] It is no uncommon thing for persons who entertain low views of Christian doctrine, to insist on the latter of these "great commandments" in preference to the former, and to plead for benevolence at the expence of piety. "*Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto,*" is indeed, a sentiment which even idolaters could utter, and which happily corresponds with a very common emotion of the mind of man. Although however, this emotion may perhaps be regarded as the *best relic* of our original virtue, it will never, of itself, enable us truly to obey this second commandment. The *strength* of the charity here enjoined upon us, lies in the renunciation of self; and no man can fulfil this law, according to the mind of the lawgiver, whose whole heart is not primarily surrendered, in love, to God. When our first affections have been taught to flow, in an undivided stream, towards God—the author of our redemption, as well as of our being—we are prepared by an influence, infinitely purer and stronger than the

[a] Rom. xii, 1. [b] Mark xii, 30, 31.

most amiable natural impulse, to love our neighbour *as ourselves.* Then do we learn to renounce our own interest for the sake of others, and to embrace in the arms of charity, our enemies as well as our friends. Then are we impelled to labour not merely for the temporal advantage and civil improvement, but above all, for the *spiritual welfare,* of that guilty world for which Christ died. We love *all* our fellow men, because *all* are, with ourselves, the objects of the redeeming love of God in Jesus Christ our Lord.

III. With the love of God, are intimately connected the principle and habit of *devotion* to our Heavenly Father. It is probable that many persons, who deny the deity of Jesus Christ, have a "zeal of God," but "not according to knowledge."[a] In degrading their Saviour to the level of a creature, they imagine that they do honor to the Father who sent him; and they even conceive themselves to be the only consistent worshippers of the true and living God. One would think that such persons might derive a useful lesson from the history of the Jews, many of whom, at the Christian era, carried the same notions and feelings to a far greater excess. Their language was, "We have one father—even God;"[b] and they were enraged by our Lord's assumption of the divine character. "For a good work" said they, "we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that thou being a man, makest thyself God."[c] Finally, it was for this very crime, as they deemed it, that they inflicted on our Redeemer the death of the cross. Yet who is not aware, that true godliness, in that day, was to be found, not amongst these high professors of a belief in the unity of Jehovah, but amongst the persecuted followers and *worshippers* of Christ?

[a] Rom. x, 2. [b] John viii, 41. [c] x, 33.

The experience of the primitive believers, and the history of their Jewish enemies, alike confirm the truth of those maxims of the gospel, "He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which hath sent him."[a] "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father."[b] "He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath *both* the Father and the Son."[c]

The apostle Paul, while under the bondage of the law, and a persecutor of the Church, was filled with zeal for what he deemed to be the honor of Jehovah; but we cannot read his history or his writings, without perceiving, that after his conversion to faith in a divine Saviour, his *godliness* was, in a wonderful degree, deepened, elevated, and purified. And so, I believe, it is in the present day. The most devotional frame of character—the most unreserved surrender of the soul to the will of its Creator—the most abiding pursuit of his glory—are ever found connected with the most exalted views of the person of his Son.

There is no Christian duty more clearly enjoined upon us in Scripture, than that of prayer: and to the performance of this duty, it is a vast encouragement, that we are invited to pray in the *name of Jesus*; that is, in *dependence on his mediation.* Such a dependence I conceive to be impossible, while we regard him only as a man. But if we plead his name, in simple reliance on his *divinity*, and under the influence of the Holy Spirit, we shall find that free access to a throne of grace, which will animate us in all our devotions, and gradually form in us the *mind of prayer.*

IV. True morality may be defined, as consisting in the fulfilment of all our personal and relative duties; for example, to ourselves, to our neighbour, and to God.

[a] John v, 23. [b] 1 John ii, 23. [c] 2 John 9.

Now, although the doctrine of the deity of Christ, is inseparably connected with that of his *oneness* with the Father, yet in revealing the *Son of God* who took our nature upon him—our crucified Redeemer, our risen Lord, our Advocate, our Governor, and our Judge—the gospel has unfolded to us a *new and peculiar relation.* This relation calls for a corresponding line of duty; and by *duty* I mean right affections, as well as right actions.

In order to fulfil the just demands of the *moral law* of Christianity, it is plain that we must bring into exercise towards our Saviour, the affections of profound reverence, ardent love and gratitude, and unqualified faith and submission; and these affections must find their way into that practical result, which so conspicuously distinguished the apostles and their followers—a life of self-renunciation for Christ's sake—a life devoted to his service, and in all things directed to his glory. Such affections and such a life, include or rather constitute the worship of Christ. And let it be remembered that this worship, while it is religious and divine in its nature, *answers to his peculiar relative position in the economy of grace and salvation.* As such, it is consistent with the will, and ever tends to the glory, of the FATHER. "God also hath highly exalted him and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is LORD, TO THE GLORY OF GOD THE FATHER."*

Now, it is plainly impossible that we should thus fulfil our moral obligations towards Jesus Christ, unless we form correct views of his nature and character—unless we accept him, not only as MAN, but as GOD.

* Phil. ii, 9—11.

Since, then, that faith in Christ by which we are saved, is also the faith by which we are regenerated—since a belief in the deity and atonement of the Son of God, affords the strongest of motives to humility, love to God, love to man, devotion, prayer, and the fulfilment of our duties towards Christ himself, we may safely conclude that such a belief is essential to the *formation of the Christian's character.* Now, although that character may, in various respects, differ from the theories of virtue which have been proposed to mankind by uninspired philosophy, it contains all that is substantially excellent—all that works well in practice—all that truly tends to the glory of the Creator, and to the welfare and happiness of mankind.

Finally, let it never be forgotten, that the *formation of the Christian's character* is the very thing which prepares us for the *enjoyment of the Christian's heaven.* If we are asked, in what the happiness of heaven consists, we may answer, on the authority of Scripture, In the unmixed service of God even our Father;[a] in those full influences of the Holy Ghost, of which his present work is the earnest;[b] and in the perpetual presence and favor of the Son our Saviour.[c] If then we desire, at the close of our mortal pilgrimage, to join the countless company of God's redeemed children, we must seek with all diligence, for a *capacity* to unite in their immortal song of thanksgiving and praise—"Salvation to OUR GOD which sitteth upon the throne, and unto THE LAMB."[d]

[a] Rev. vii, 15. [b] 2 Cor. i, 22; v, 5; Eph. i, 14. [c] John xiv, 3; xvii, 24; Phil. i, 23. [d] Rev. vii, 10.

THE END.

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INDEX.

Ahaz, king of Judah, his history, as described by Isaiah, 297

Aleph to Tau, a Rabbinical expression, signifying completeness, 86

Alpha and Omega, title of Christ, indicating his eternity, 87

Amelius, Platonic Philosopher, his reference to John i, 1—10, p. 161

Analogy between 2 Pet. iii, 14-16, and various passages in the epistle to the Hebrews, 5-7;—between Gen. i, 3, and John i, 3, p. 153.

Angel. The appearance of the Angel of Jehovah to Abraham, 222-5;—to Hagar, 225;—to Isaac and Jacob, 226;—to Moses, 228;—to Moses in company with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, 234;—to Joshua, 236;—to Gideon, 238;—to Manoah, 239;—the angel of Jehovah was himself Jehovah, 223-5;—proved by his interview with Abraham, 223;—by the story of Hagar, 225;—by his appearance to Isaac and Jacob, 226;—by the allusion of Hosea to the story of Jacob, 227;—by Jacob's dying benediction to Joseph's sons, 228;—the angel, in his appearance to Zechariah, maintains at once the character of the sent of God, and of Jehovah himself, 243;—the angel of the Covenant was the preexistent son of God, 247; as is proved by similarity of character and office—by the prophecies respecting the Angel, fulfilled in Christ—by the titles of the Angel, also applied to Christ, 247-260;—opinions of the early fathers on the subject, 258 *note*

Angels in Heb. i, 13, 17, interpreted by Michaelis to mean "the heavens and the earth," and by Peirce to signify "human and angelic rulers," 174.

Anti-Nicene Fathers of the Christian church identify Christ with the angel of the covenant, 258 *note*;—their opinions respecting Christ the Word, 270 *note*.

Apocryphal books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Hints which they contain respecting a personal λόγος, 268 *note*

Apollinarius and Eutychians, 368 *note*

Article. Use and disuse of it before Θεὸς, 276 *note*;—rule respecting the article in classical greek, 399-410;—the same rule was observed by writers of the New Testament, and especially by Paul, 410-14;—application of the rule to Tit. ii, 13, 414-16.

Behai Rabbi, his testimony respecting the First born of the World, 194
Blayney's version of Jer. xxiii, 6, and his note on the passage, 351.
Blunt Gregory, reply to his objections respecting the Greek article, 410
Cappe Newcome, his fallacious criticisms, 117
Chaldaic language, dialects of, 124 *note.*
Christ existed before John the Baptist, No. 2;—in the time of Job, No. 3;—before Abraham, No. 4;—when the world was created, No. 5;—from everlasting, No. 6;—in the form of God, and on an equality with him, No. 7;—was the medium of the material as well as of the moral creation, 163, 199, and Nos. 9, 10;—was addressed by the Psalmist as Creator, No. 11;—was the image of God and first-born of the creation, No. 12;—he preached to the Ante-diluvians, No. 13;—he was Emmanuel, 328;—the rock of offence, 330;—wonderful, 341;—Counsellor, 342;—mighty God, 343;—Father of eternity, 343;—Prince of Peace, 344;—the Branch, 357;—Jehovah our righteousness, 360-364;—description of his offices, 461.
Coins of the Greek emperors, who reigned during the Arian controversy, inscribed with A and Ω, 88 *note.*
Creation of all things by Christ, a doctrine held by many of the Jews at the Christian era, 201;—and by the early Christian church, 204.
Crellius Samuel, lived to repent of tampering with the text of Scripture, 265
Deity of Christ proved from his unchanging existence, 55, from his eternity, 87, from his being ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ, 101, from his being the Medium of Creation, 162, and its Author, 171, from his divine administrations to the Antediluvians, 219, from John i, 1, No. 15, from Isa. vii, 14, and ix, 16, No. 16. from Jer. xxiii, 5, No. 17, from Tit. ii, 11-14, No. 20, from Rom. ix, 5, No. 21.
Descent of Christ into Hell, article of the creed of the Church of England, how explained, *note* 213;—Augustine's letter to Evodius on this subject, 214
Docetæ, their opinions, 393.
Erasmus, his loose method of interpreting doctrinal passages of Scripture, 441
Enoch, book of, its account of the preexistent Messiah, *note* 78, respecting πνεύματα πονηρὰ, *note* 211
Faith in the Deity of Christ, its practical importance, 457, as it is the means of salvation, 462-473, as productive of humility, 473, of love, 474, of devotion, 477, of fulfilment of duty to Christ, 479
FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, and early theological writers quoted or referred to—
Adamantius, 10, 161 *note*
Alexander, 10
Ambrose, 12, 439 *note*
Amphilochius, 10, 439 *note*
Apollinarius, 384
Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, 10
Athanasius, 10, 61 *note*, 114,

161 *note*, 205 *note*, 385, 418, 432, 439 *note*
henagoras, 149, 152 *note*
Augustinus, 418, 439 *note*
Barnabas, 152 *note*, 272 *note*
Basil, 10, 61 *note*, 114, 116 *note*, 387, 418, 429, 432, 439 *note*
Caius, 11, 25
Cassianus, 439 *note*
Chrysostom, 10, 42, 54, 61 *and note*, 76, 100, 109, 161 *note*, 205 *note*, 388, 418, 427, 439 *note*
Clement of Rome, 26, 272 *note*
Clement of Alexandria, 9, 19, 26, 31, 71, 100, 212, 259 *note*, 271 *note*, 418
Constitutiones Apostolicæ, 10, 384, 429, 435
Council of Laodicea, 11
Cyprian, 259-60 *note*, 439 *note*
Cyril of Jerusalem, 10, 61 *note*, 205 *note*
Cyril of Alexandria, 10, 61 *note*, 109, 375, 376, 418, 439 *note*
Damascenus, 439 *note*
Didymus of Alexandria, 10
Diodorus of Tarsus, 10
Dionysius of Alexandria, 10, 384
Ephrem the Syrian, 11
Epiphanius, 10, 128, 375, 376, 418, 437, 439 *note*
Epiphanius Catanensis, 390
Eunomius, 429, 433
Eusebius, 4, 7 *note*, 10, 11, 19, 29, 100, 107, 161 *and note*, 205 *note*, 334, 429, 431, 432 *note*, 435
Euthalius, 389
Facundus, 439 *note*
Fulgentius, 439 *note*
Gelasius of Cyzicum, 366, 375, 379
Gennadius, 439 *note*
Gregory Nazianzen, 10, 418
Gregory Thaumaturgus, 384
Gregory of Nysse, 10, 386, 418, 429, 432, 439 *note*
Gregory Magnus, 439 *note*
Hermas, 152 *note*, 272 *note*
Hierax, 10
Hilary, 12, 205 *note*, 212, 427, 436 *note*
Hilary the Deacon, 417
Hinkmarus, 380
Hyppolitus, 12, 271 *note*, 384, 418, 436, 439 *note*
Idacius, 439 *note*
Ignatius, 272 *note*, 384, 394, [see also Pseudo-Ignatius]
Irenæus, 12, 25, 26, 60, 61, 71, 152 *note*, 160, 259-60 *note*, 271 *note*, 394, 439 *note*
Isidorus of Pelusium, 109, 205 *note*
Jerom, 12, 19, 61 *note*, 76, 128, 375, 439 *note*
Johannes Damascenus, 390
Justin Martyr, 70, 149, 152 *note*, 258, 259-60 *note*, 270 *note*, 325
Liberatus, 380
Maxentius, 439 *note*
Maximin, 10, 418
Maximus Conf. 439 *note*
Melito of Sardes, 271 *note*
Methodius, 10
Nonnus, 61 *note*
Novatian, 61 *note*, 100, 161 *note*, 259-60 *note*, 439 *note*
Œcumenius, 109, 205 *note*, 390, 418, 439 *note*
Origen, 9, 31, 54, 61, *and note*, 71, 100, 109, 128, 161 *and note*, 204, 205 *note*, 212, 259 *note*, 271 *note*, 276, 429, 430, 435, 439 *note*
Pamphilus of Cæsarea, 10
Pantænus, 9, 26
Philaster of Brescia, 12
Photius, 390

Proclus, 439 *note.*
Pseudo-Athanasius, 429, 433
Pseudo-Ignatius, 61 *note*, 429, 433, 435
Severian, 10
Serapion, an Egyptian bishop, 10
Tatian, 149, 152 *note*
Tertullian, 11, 25, 26, 31, 71, 100, 114, 161 *note*, 205 *note*, 259 *note*, 271 *note*, 432 *note*, 439 *note*
Theodore of Mopsuesta, 10, 366, 375
Theodoret, 10, 76, 100, 108, 205 *note*, 389, 418, 439 *note*
Theognostus, 10
Theophylact, 42, 54, 61 *note*, 100, 109, 161 *note*, 205 *note*, 209, 390, 418, 439 *note*
Theophilus of Antioch, 149, 259 *note*, 271 *note*
Titus, bishop of Bostra, 10
Victor, 10
Victorinus, 439 *note*

First-born, denotes not only what is first in point of time, but that which is most eminent of its kind, 190.

Form of blessings and curses among the Hebrews, 447

Glorious appearing, a term applied in Scripture, in relation not to the Father, but the Son, 416

Gnostics, their opinions, 393.

God. Examination of the opinion that the terms *God* and *a god* are occasionally used in O. T. in reference to mortals, 279-289. God, the Father, ever described as invisible, 220.

Goël, his offices, 50;—analogy between the offices of the Goël, and the main features of the christian redemption, 51.

GREEK WORDS & PHRASES criticised

αἰῶνες, in Heb. i, 2 . 166-9
ἄνθρωπος, ... 117
ἁρπαγμὸς 106-114
ἀρχὴ . 65. 191 *note*, 266-7
γέγονε 45
γενέσθαι . . . 52, 146-50
γίνομαι 66
διὰ . . . 158, 162, 164,-6
διαθήκη 18
διασπορὰ . . . . *note*, 3
ἐγώ εἰμι 53
εἰκὼν 185
ἔμπροσθεν 43, 44
ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα . . 396
ἐν φυλακῇ 211
ἐπὶ πάντων 454
ἐρχομένον εἰς τὸν κόσμον . 156
εὐλογητὸς 455
ζωοποιηθεὶς 207
Θεὸς 277-9
ἴσα 102
ἴσος in composition 104 & *note*
κενόω 115
κόσμος 155
κτίζω 197-201
κύριος 421
Λόγος . . . . . No. 15
λυτρόω 49
μορφὴ 98
ὁ ὢν for ὅς ἐστι . . . 450
ὁμοίωμα . . . *note*, 101
ὀπίσω 43
παντα 197, 454
πάρὰ σοί 59
παρεπιδήμοι διασπορᾶς . . 3
πνεύματι in 1 Pet. iii, 19. 208
πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν . . . 210
πρὸς 174-5, 273
πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν 273
πρῶτος 40-41
πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως 190-3
πτωχεύειν . . . *note*, 115
σάρξ . . . 68, 207, 209
τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν . . . 249
ὑπάρχων 98-9
ὑπερυψόω 120
ψυχὴ 214

Grotius, his daring interpretation of some parts of Scripture, 442

HEBREW WORDS criticised.

אבי־עד 312, 314
אחרון 46
אל & איל 289
אל־גבור 311, 314
אלהים 283
אני הוא 55
בכור 190
בריעה 301
גאל 48
גואל 50
גליון 305
האלהים 285
הנער 302
החיות 207
חזר 4
חי 47
חרט 306
טבאל . . . . . *note*, 298
ידון 215
יהוה 136, 293, 315, 353, 364
יועץ 311
ילד 313
יצא 80
יקרא 313, 315, 353, 354, 364
ירשיען 285
כבד 309
לא־רחמה 301
לב 132
לדעתו 303
לוח 306
מוצאתיו 77
מלאך־יהוה 237
מפני 303
מרבה 345
משרה 313
נברא 148
נפש 132, 214
סאן 310
עולם 83, 169
עלמה 300
עפר 46
פלא 314
פללו 285
צדק 353, 364
צלם אל 187
ציר & צר 233
קדם 83, 315
קין & קון 303, 345
קלה 309
רבה 345
שאול 213
שאר־ישוב 301
שם 315
שכינא 135
תמונת 230
תעזב 303
תקלל 287

Hebrew text of O. T. why interpreted in Chaldee when read in the congregation, p. 124.

Hebrew Bible, why divided into verses, 125.

Hebrews. Epistle to the Hebrews; canonical authority, No. 1—Paul its author,—proved (1) by the testimony of Peter, 2-7, (2) by ecclesiastical tradition, 8-12, (3) by internal evidences, 12-24; —it was rejected however by some of the Latin Fathers, 11;—the earliest versions of the canonical Scriptures contain the epistle, 10;—ascribed by Tertullian to Barnabas, 11;—its date, 14;—its style more elaborate than that of Paul's other writings, 18;—supposed by some to

have been written in Hebrew, 19;—words common to the Ep. to Heb. and the acknowledged writings of Paul but not elsewhere found in N. T., 22;—its inspiration and canonical authority considered independently of its having been written by Paul, 26;—largely quoted by Clement of Rome, and evidently written during the apostolic age, 26;—and before the destruction of the temple, 29;—addressed to a Christian church in Palestine, 30;—probably to the church at Jerusalem, 33, 34;—very improbable that the duty of addressing a doctrinal treatise to a church, regarded by all others with so much reverence, should devolve on any individual who was not avowedly gifted with divine inspiration, 35;—its inspiration grounded on its own internal excellence and Scriptural weight, 36.

Horsley Bishop, his interpretation of 1 Pet. iii, 19, p. 213

Incarnation of the Son of God, No. 19;—confession of this doctrine, the test of a right spirit, 396

Isaiah;—genuineness of his prophecies, 323;—fulfilment of those in chap. vii, viii, ix, 317-348.

Jah, see *Word of Jah*.

Jehovah,—not clear whether in his communications with man *before the flood*, he assumed at any time a visible form, p. 221-2;—but it is clear that he was personally manifested *afterwards*, 222;—difference observable in the Scriptures between Jehovah acting and Jehovah originating, 224; though invisible he is often described as speaking to his people in an audible voice, 231 *note*.

Job seems to allude to the pre-existence of Christ; and not only describes him as the *Living One*, but recognizes him in the character of a *Redeemer*, 46-47.

John in the commencement of his gospel seems to have alluded to the first part of the book of Genesis, 153.

Jonathan Ben Uzziel, tradition respecting him, 127-8.

Locke John, his gloss on Rom. ix, 5, 449 *note*

Macedonius banished on the charge of having corrupted the text of 1 Tim. iii, 16, p. 380, and *note* 381.

Michaelis's interpretation of Heb. i, 7-12, p. 172-3;—a believer in the deity of Christ, 172, *note*;—his clear testimony on the subject of Rom. ix, 5, 453.

Middleton Bishop, his theory of the Greek article, 401

Mishnah, 123 *note*.

Name, the signification of this word very comprehensive, describing character as well as title, 179.

Name of God. Scrupulously regarded by the Jews, 291.

Names. Hebrew proper names always significant, 358;—sometimes directly descriptive of persons or places; at others indicative only of collateral circumstances, 359.

New Creation, how characterised, 199

Noetians, their perversion of Paul's doctrine in Rom. ix, 5, p. 436, 437

Onkelos, account given of him by the Jews, 128
PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE illustrated.
Gen. i, 3, 6, &c. . . 153
i. 27. 136
ii, 4, ... 148
vi, 3. 216
xiv, 19, 20. . . 229
xvi, 7-13 . . . 226
xvi, 10-13 . . . 139
xviii, xix, . 222 to 225
xix, 24 136
xx, 3 136-7
xxii, 11, 12. . . 225
xxiv, 30 . . . 227
xxxi, 13 . . . 139
xxxi, 11-13 . . . 226
xxxii, 24, . . 227-8
xlviii, 15, 16 . . 228
Exod. iii, 1-14 . . . 228
iii, 14 140
iv, 22 191
vii, 1 283
xiv, 19, 20. . . 229
xxi, 5, 6 . . . 285
xxii, 9 . . *note*, 285
xxii, 28 287
xxiii, 20-25 . . . 232
xxxii, 33, 34, &c. 234-5
Levit. xxiv, 15 . . . 287
Numb. xxii, 35 . . . 139
Deut. xxxii, 39 . . 55
xxxiii, 17 . . . 191
Judg. ii, 1—4 . *note*, 237
vi, 12-24 . . . 239
xiii, 16-22 . . 239
1 Sam. ii, 25 . . . 285
xxviii, 13 . *note*, 287
Job xviii, 13 . . . 191
xix, 25, *No.* 3
Psal. viii, 5 . . *note*, 288
xvi, 10 . . *note*, 213
lxvii, 19 . *note*, 447
lxxii, 17, . *note*, 78
lxxxii, ... 282
lxxxix, 27 . . 191
xcvii, 7 . *note*, 288
cii, 16-22 . . . 182
Psal. cii, 25-28 . . . 171
cx, 1 144
cxviii, 22 . . . 331
cxxxviii, 1 . *note*, 288
Isa. vi, 1-3 240
vii, viii, ix, *No.* 16
xiv, 30 191
xliii, 10 55
xlv, 18-25 . . . 137
xlv, 23 121
lxiii, 7-10 . . . 140
lxiii, 9 . . *note*, 233
Jer. xxiii, 5, 6, *No.* 17
xxxi 9, ... 191
xxxiii, 15, 16 *note*, 364
Ezek. xxxi, 11 . *note*, 289
Hosea xii, 4, 5 . . . 227
Micah v, 1-3, *No.* 6
Zech. i, ii 242-3
x, 12 138
Mal. iii, 1-3 . . 141-244
Matt. iii, 11 45
iv, 12-16 . . . 337
Luke xx, 36 . . *note*, 104
John i, 1, *No.* 15
i, 1 & 14, *No.* 5
i, 3 & 10, *No.* 9
i, 15, *No.* 2
i, 18, *No.* 14
viii, 58, *No.* 4
viii, 24, 28 . . 53
x, 33-39 . . . 281-2
xv, 18 41
xvii, 24, 25 . . 156
xvii, 4, 5 . . 56 & 59
Acts ii, 31 . . *note*, 213
vii, 38 231
Rom. vi, 4 165
ix, 3-5, *No.* 21
xv, 21 368
1 Cor. viii, 5 . *note*, 288
2 Cor. iv, 4-6 . . . 185
viii, 9 . . *note*, 115
Eph. ii, 15, 17 . . . 210
iii, 9 . . . *note*, 199
v, 5 420
v, 25 49
Phil. ii, 5, 9, *No.* 7
Col. i, 12-16, *No.* 12

2 Thes. i, 12 421
1 Tim. iii, 16, *No.* 18 & 19
v, 21 421
Titus ii, 11-14, *No.* 20
ii, 13, 14 49
Heb. i, 1, 2, *No.* 10
i, 3 . . . *note*, 204
i, 7-12, *No.* 11
ii, 1-3 180
ii, 17 . . . *note*, 101
xi, 5 28
xi, 3 . . 168-9 & *note*
xii, 4 . . . *note*, 33
xii, 24, 25 . *note*, 249
xiii, 24 . . *note*, 13
1 Pet. i, 1 2
i, 18 . . . *note*, 4
i, 18, 19 50
iii, 18-20, *No.* 13
2 Pet. i, 1 420
i, 3 . . . *note*, 166
ii, 22 . . . *note*, 4
iii, 1 3
iii, 14-16 2
1 John i, 1, 2 395
iv, 2, 3 396
2 John 7 396
Jude 4 422
Rev. i, 4, 5-7 . . . 85-88
iii, 14 . . *note*, 191
v, 5, 6, 7 . . 85-88
xxi, 3-8 . . . *note*, 87
xxii, 13-16 . . . 87

Paul quotes Psalm cii, 25-28, as addressed by the Psalmist to the Son of God, No. 11.

Pearson Bishop, his argument on Col. i, 16, p, 200

Peirce's interpretation of Heb. i, 7-12, p. 171.

Peter:—Epistles of Peter, to whom addressed? 2;—incidental allusions contained in them to the history, law, &c. of the Jews, 4 *note*;—the extracts from the Old Testament in these epistles, are given without any word to indicate that they are quotations, 4 *note*;—the two epistles contain verbal similarities, which prove them to have come from the same pen, 7;—the second epistle regarded as genuine by the council of Laodicea, 7.

Philo, some particulars of his history,—his familiarity with the writings of Plato, 189 *note*;—his doctrine respecting the Word of God, 150;—describes the Word as the First-born and Image of God, in reference to his being the organ of Creation, 202-204.

Preexistence of Christ alluded to by Job, No. 3; eternal preexistence of Christ, a doctrine known to the Jews, 63.

Punctuation of New Test. 443.

Recensio Alexandrina, 369

Redemption, as expressed in the Hebrew Scriptures by the verb גאל analogous to the account given in the New Testament, of the redemption of mankind by Jesus Christ, 48.

Rosenmüller incorrectly quoted by editors of U. N. V. as evidence in their favour, 169 *note*.

Sabellianism, what, 436

Salvation, comprehensive character of the term, 459

Shechinah of Jah, a phrase frequently used by the Targumists as identical with the *Word of Jah*, *Word of God*, and *Angel of God*, 135, 229.

Simon Magnus, his wild blasphemies, 436

Spirits in Prison, 206, 211.

Synagogue worship of the Jews, why performed in Hebrew

and Chaldee, 124, 125;—the *law* was originally read; but lessons and sections out of the prophets were substituted by Antiochus Epiphanes; after the deliverance by the Maccabees, both law and prophets were read, 126 *note*.

Talmuds, 123 *note*;—digest by Maimonides, 124 *note*.

Targums, No. 8; how they originated, 126;—enumeration of the principal Targums, 127;—their antiquity, 128.

Thrones, Principalities, &c. meaning of these terms as used by Paul, 197.

Unitarian New Version quoted or criticised, 40, 52, 56, 64, 98, 146, 150, 159, 164, 168, 176, 266, 273, 275, 282 *note*.

Various Readings of 1 Tim. iii, 16, and comparative authorities for ὃς ὅ and Θεὸς, No. 18.

Verbal nouns ending in μα and μος, 112.

Verses.—Origin of the division of the Hebrew Bible into verses, 125.

Word, deity of, No. 15.

Word;—this title used by the Jews at the Christian era, to designate a person whose nature was identified with that of God himself, 65;—described as the medium of creation in the Hebrew Scriptures, and in the Apocrypha, by Philo, and by early Christian writers, 150.

Word of God, a phrase frequently used by the Targumists, to signify the wisdom, &c. of the Almighty, p. 130;—and sometimes denotes the mind, soul, &c. of the divine being, 132;—but in a multitude of instances describes Jehovah himself, 133-136, and 268 *note*;—often appears to be a mere synonyme for Jehovah, 132-3;—but more generally represents God actually *present* with his people, 134;—on various occasions distinguished from Jehovah who sends him, 136;—the person through whom Jah or Jehovah effects the redemption or salvation of his people 137;—sometimes identified with the angel or messenger of Jehovah, 138-142;—question whether the Targumists considered the Word of God to be the Messiah, 143;—account given of the *Word of God* by the early Fathers, 270 *note*.

Zohar, its contents, style, and date, 188-9 *note*.

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